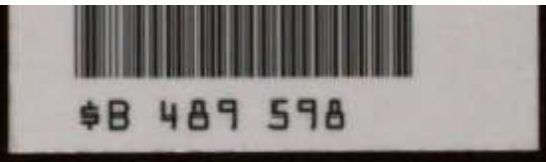

$B 489 598

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

REESE LIBRARY

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

Class

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE LIVES OF THE POPES

VOL. II.

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE
LIVES OF THE POPES
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

BY THE

REV. HORACE K. MANN

"De gente Anglorum, qui maxime familiares Apostolicæ Sedis semper existunt." (*Gesta Abb. Fontanel. A.D.* 747-752, ap. M.G. SS. II. 289).

HEAD MASTER OF ST. CUTHBERT'S GRAMMAR SCHOOL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE

CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF HISTORY OF SPAIN

THE POPES DURING THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

LEO III. TO FORMOSUS

795-891

VOL. II.—795-858

B. HERDER,
17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST LOUIS, MO.
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO., LTD.
1906

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BX1070
M3
v.2

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

To

HIS ALMA MATER

ST CUTHBERT'S COLLEGE, USHAW

THIS VOLUME

Is respectfully Dedicated

BY

A GRATEFUL SON

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PREFACE.

ENCOURAGED by the reception which was accorded by the press of various shades of opinion both at home and abroad to my previous volumes, which treated of the *Lives of the Popes* who flourished during the seventh and eighth centuries, and moved especially by the words addressed to me by our late Holy Father Leo XIII., of blessed and glorious memory, I venture to offer to the reading public another series of papal biographies. The first series dealt with the Pontiffs who reigned whilst the Lombards lorded it over Italy; the present one embraces the *lives* of those who ruled the Church whilst the Carolingians, the conquerors of the Lombards, held the reins of Empire, and will be published in two volumes.

Considering how tenderly my first literary offspring was treated by those who undertook to criticise it, it would ill become me to forget to thank them. To my thanks I would only add that, as my one wish is to produce a good and reliable work, I shall be grateful for any helpful criticisms. I have endeavoured to profit by those which my former volumes received, and it will not be my fault but my misfortune if I cannot still further profit by those which may be passed on the ones I have just completed. But I cannot help feeling in regard to them what Wibert felt concerning his biography of S. Leo IX., namely, that I shall have had a great measure of success if I become the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

means of transmitting to posterity, no matter in what literary style, some slight knowledge of the great deeds of the Roman Pontiffs.[1] For I can never forget the striking words of Archbishop Hincmar, that "he who honours the See of Peter and its bishop honours Him who said: 'he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth Me'"[2] (John xiii. 20).

Nor must I omit to thank once more the authorities of the Public Library of the City of Newcastle-on-Tyne for the most obliging manner in which, at all times, they have placed their services and books at my disposal. My friends, C. Hart, Esq., B.A., and F. F. Urquhart, Esq., M.A., have assisted me in the most ungrudging manner. They have read over the proof-sheets for me with the greatest care, and have saved me from many a mistake. To express to them my sincerest gratitude is at once my duty and my pleasure.

H. K. MANN.

[1] "Unde ab ipsius (Leo IX.) exordio jam ordiatur sermo, in quo plurimum nobis successise credemus, si ea tantum, quæ in pontificatu Leucorum laudabiliter gessit, ex aliqua parte quovis stylo posteris transmiserimus." Wibert, *in vit. Leo IX.*, *Prolog.*

[2] "Cujus (Petri) sedem, suæque sedis pontificem qui honorat, illum honorat qui dixit: 'Qui accipit si quem misero, me accipit.'" Hincmar, Ep. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 126, p. 33.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS VOLUME

Jaffé, or Regesta . .	=	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. Jaffé, 2nd ed., Lipsiæ, 1885.
Labbe	=	*Sacrosancta Concilia*, ed. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1671.
L. P., *Anastasius*, or the *Book of the Popes*	=	*Liber Pontificalis*, 2 vols., ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886.
M. G. H., or Pertz .	=	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, either *Scriptores* (M. G. SS.) or *Epistolæ* (M. G. Epp.).
P. G.	=	*Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne, Paris.
P. L.	=	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne, Paris.
R. I. S. . . .	=	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. Muratori, Milan, 1723 ff.

The sign † placed before a date indicates that the date in question is the year of the death of the person after whose name the sign and the date are placed.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE,	vii
LEO III. (795–816),	1
STEPHEN (IV.) V. (816–817),	111
PASCHAL I. (817–824),	122
EUGENIUS II. (824–827),	156
VALENTINE (827),	183
GREGORY IV. (827–844),	187
SERGIUS II. (844–847),	232
S. LEO IV. (847–855),	258
BENEDICT III. (855–858),	308
GENEALOGICAL TABLE—The Descendants of Charlemagne,	329
INDEX,	331

Digitized by Google

Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

LEO III.

A.D. 795–816.

Sources.—Although the *life* of Leo III. is the longest one in the *Liber Pontificalis*[1] (*L. P.*), sometimes here cited as *The Book of the Popes*, it furnishes us with comparatively little information as to his doings. Apart from a short account of his early years, and a more detailed notice of the attack made upon him by Paschal and his associates, there is practically nothing else in it but an interminable list of expenses incurred by the Pope in connection with different churches in Rome and elsewhere.

Among the other sources whence we must seek fuller information are ten of his letters to Charlemagne in the *Codex Carolinus*,[2] or rather, to speak more accurately, in another beautifully written MS. of the beginning of the ninth century, drawn up, like the *Codex Car.*, by order of Charlemagne. A few more of his letters will be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 129; *M. G. Epp.*, v., etc. Various letters of Alcuin (ap. *Monument. Alc.*; *Bib. Rer. Germ.*, vi., ed. Jaffé, or, more recently, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, iii.) and of Charlemagne (*Mon. Carol.*, ed. Jaffé; *Bib. Rer. Germ.*, iv.) are addressed or have reference to Leo III. The latter may also be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 98, and, best of all, in *M. G. Epp.*, iv.

The *Carmen de Carolo Magno* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 98), assigned by some to Angilbert (†814), abbot of St. Riquier at Centula, in

[1] On it see vol. i., pt. i., p. 259 ff. of this work.

[2] See *ib.*, pt. ii., p. 203.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Picardy, gives a contemporary narrative in verse, imitated from the Æneid, of the above-mentioned attack on the Pope. Very useful, of course, are the *Annales veteres Francorum* (ap. *P. L.*, t. 98) and the other chronicles[1] of the time (ap. *M. G. SS.*, i., etc.).

Our own historians, William of Malmesbury, etc., must be consulted on the relations of the Pope with regard to this country. The documents will be found in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 516 ff. Evincing the literary renaissance in progress among the Franks at this period, our authorities are now more satisfactory.

Modern Works.—Of the first importance are biographies of Charlemagne and his *entourage*. To those cited in the previous volume under Hadrian I., add *L'empereur Charlemagne*, by L. Double[2] (Paris, 1881); *Essai sur la vie d'Alcuin*, by F. Hamelin (Paris, 1873); and *Alcuin*, by A. F. West (London, 1893), a very sympathetic work on our industrious and practical scholar. *Alcuin: His Life and His Work*, by C. Gaskoin (London, 1904), is the most complete work on Alcuin. *Théodulfe*, by Ch. Cuissard (Orléans, 1892), may also be usefully consulted.

On the *Holy Roman Empire*, created by Leo III., see the well-known work of J. Bryce which bears that title (London, 1889), and which treats most ably on the establishment of the Carolingian Empire. He would seem, however, to show too great a respect for obsolete law; see also *L'empire Carolingien*, by A. Kleinclausz (Paris, 1902), a work which, though very learned, appears to me somewhat 'to drag its weary length along,' and *Le Saint Empire*, by J. Birot (Paris, 1903). C. Bayet has published several pamphlets on this period—*e.g. L'élection de Leon III. et la révolte des Romains en* 799 (Paris, 1883). As the modern literature which might be cited in connection with Leo III. is exceedingly extensive, we will confine ourselves to naming two

[1] See *ib.*, p. 225.

[2] This author, writing as a modern patriotic Frenchman, and considering Charlemagne as a modern German, passes judgment accordingly! The spirit of the work may be gathered from this quotation: "Jamais peut-être la France ne fut plus misérable que sous le règne de cet Austrasien sanguinaire, cruel et débauché," p. ix. *Cf.* p. 180 regarding "l'épais cerveau du Germain enivré, du babare ébloui," etc.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

more works: *Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical*, by L. Duchesne (Paris, 1898), and vol. viii. of Dr. Hodgkin's *Italy and Her Invaders*, Oxford, 1899.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.
Constantine VI. (Porphyrogenitus), 780–797.	Charlemagne (King of the Franks), 771–800.
Irene, 797–802.	(Emperor), 800–814.
Nicephorus, 802–811.	Louis, the Pious or Débonnaire, 814–840.
Michael I., 811–813.	
Leo V., 813–820.	

Introductory. The papacy at the beginning of the seventh century and at the beginning of the ninth.

THE period of the history of the papacy, co-extensive with the duration of the Carolingian Empire (795–891), opens under very different external conditions to those under which its preceding period (590–795) commenced. During the latter epoch the popes were the nominal subjects at least of the emperors at Constantinople, whose representatives were installed in the crumbling palace on the Palatine. Their election had to be confirmed by them, and their lives and liberties were dependent on their whims. Italy, the centre of the papal power, was divided between the rude Lombard and the grasping Byzantine.

But now all this was changed; no longer did the presence among them of a Byzantine duke remind the Romans that their lord and master was a Greek Basileus on the shores of the Bosphorus; no longer were the effigies of the descendants of Constantine received in Rome with the respectful submission due to their prototypes, and placed with honour in the chapel of S. Cæsario in Palatio; and no longer did the coins of Rome, by their 'image and inscription,' proclaim that it owed tribute to Cæsar. The Byzantine power had vanished from the Eternal City, and,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the exception of Calabria and of a few isolated places (*e.g.* Naples, Hydruntum, etc.) in S. Italy, from the whole of the peninsula. Rome and Italy had now new masters. Leaving out of account the parts just mentioned and Venice, which was a practically independent state under the protection of Constantinople, the provinces of Italy were in the hands of the Pope and of the Frank. The former, now free in every sense of the word, was lord of Rome and its duchy (along with the southern portion of Tuscany to Populonium), of the old Exarchate of Ravenna, including the Pentapolis, and of the duchy of Perusia (Perugia), which connected these two nearly equal strips of territory.[1] The donations of Pippin and Charlemagne gave him claims over various other portions of Italy; but the rest of the peninsula was, in fact, ruled by the Frankish, either in person or by the intermediary of subject Lombard dukes. In place, then, of being a subject insulted and oppressed by the domineering Greek and terrified by the savage Lombard,[2] he was an independent ruler honoured and protected by the grateful Frank.

Rome, which already in the days of the first Gregory was falling to pieces, was now, phœnix-like, springing from its ashes into new life and splendour. During the prosperous reign of Leo, its 'ever-increasing decay' (*frequentia ruinarum*),[3] which St. Gregory had mourned and which had received a great check in the time of Hadrian, was

[1] See plate 63 of Poole's *Historical Atlas.*

[2] So late as 718, St. Boniface and his companions, when about to journey to Rome, prayed, "ut . . . . Longobardorum erga illos humanitatem (=immanitatem) mitius sentirent." Willibaldi, *Vita S. Bonif.*, c. 5.

[3] S. Greg., *Hom.* 18 *super Ezech.*; al. *Hom.* 6, c. 22–4. *Cf. Dial.*, ii. 15: "In hac urbe dissoluta moenia, eversas domus, distructas ecclesias turbine cernimus ejusque ædificia longo senio lassata, quia ruinis crebriscentibus (*sic*) prosternantur, vidimus."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

still further arrested. The city was, in fact, furnished with a new lease of life.

What was true of Rome was true of the world at large both in the East and West. It seemed to Gregory I. that "the world was fast sinking into the grave by its ever-multiplying maladies."[1] But now its demise seems far distant. In the West the genius and strong right arm of Charlemagne, combined with the industry and intelligence of his ministers, were evolving order out of chaos; and in the history of the long decay and successive dismemberment[2] of the Eastern Empire, it would appear that at this epoch[3] the effects of the revival in the eighth century are still being felt. At any rate, before the close of this century, which Pope Leo III. was to inaugurate in so striking a manner, there will have been begun under the Macedonian dynasty a splendid period of expansion for the Byzantine Empire—the last, however, which its annals will have to record.

But though all this is true, and though, in the main, the epoch which is now to engage our attention was a glorious one for the papacy, it must not be supposed that it was entering a millennium. As in the life of man every age has its peculiar diseases, so in the existences of dynasties and states every period has its difficulties and dangers. The troubles of the papacy were henceforth, for a long period, to arise rather from within than from without. The great increase of temporal power and wealth which had just come into its hands had fired fresh ambitions. Powerful families arose in Rome whose members would fain, by fair

[1] *Hom.* 1 *in Evang.*

[2] "Chaque siècle depuis son origine en (l'empire byzantin) eût vu disparaître quelque lambeau." Schlumberger, *Un Empereur Byzantin*, p. 325 (Paris, 1890).

[3] Still, during the reign of Michael II., the Stammerer (820–9), Crete was lost, and the Saracens obtained a firm foothold in Sicily (827).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

means or foul, keep the papacy or, at least, its power and possessions in their own grasp. As long as the Frankish protectors of the See of Peter were strong, these evils were kept to some extent in check. But when they in their turn grew feeble, when the Carolingian empire went finally to pieces towards the close of the ninth century, the papacy fell upon evil times indeed. The savage attack upon Leo III. by the relations of his predecessor, which we shall soon have to narrate, and the terrible death said to have been inflicted on John VIII., are indications of what will befall the popes when, if not the halcyon days, at any rate the comparatively bright times, of the ninth century shall have passed away.

Unanimous election of Leo.

On the very day that Hadrian was buried (December 26, 795), Leo, the cardinal priest of S. Susanna and *vestiarius* (or *vestararius*), or chief of the pontifical treasury,[1] one of the principal officials of the papal court,[2] was elected to succeed him. That he was, moreover, unanimously elected was asserted by him in a letter to Charlemagne,[3] and is also definitely affirmed by his biographer.[4] As there was now no necessity for waiting for any imperial confirmation of the election, he was duly consecrated on the following day.

[1] In which not merely money, but the plate of the Church was preserved. *Cf. Ordo Romanus*, i., ap. Grisar, *Analecta Romana*, i. p. 219, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 78. "Diebus vero festis calicem et patenam majores et ævangelia majora de vestiario dominico exeunt sub sigillo vestararii per numerum gemmarum ut non perdantur." That Leo was actually vestiarius is really only a deduction from an obscure phrase in the *L. P.*

[2] *Ib.*, n. 2. *Cf. L. P.*, *in vit.* Severini, and *in vit.* Step. (III.) IV., n. 9.

[3] In writing to Leo, the Frank king says: "Gavisi sumus . . . . in electionis unanimitate." Ep. 93, inter Epp. Alcuin, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, iv.

[4] *L. P.* "Divina inspiratione, una concordia . . . . a cunctis sacerdotibus seu proceribus, et omni clero, necnon et optimatibus vel cuncto populo Romano electus est." To explain the events of Leo's life in his own way, Bayet (*op. cit.*, p. 6) chooses to call in question this unanimity.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

He who was thus by the suffrage of all raised to the See of Peter was a Roman and the son of Atyuppius and Elisabeth.[1] At a very early age he had been attached to the treasury department of the Lateran, and had therein been brought up and trained. The barbaric name of his father, coupled with the fact that nothing is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* about his having any aristocratic connections, gives some colour to the conjecture that he was of a more or less plebeian origin. An incidental notice of his biographer[2] informs us that he was ordained priest in the Church of S. Susanna on the Quirinal, a church which, as Pope, he took care to enlarge and enrich, and of which it will have been noticed he was the titular priest at the time of his election to the papacy. Leo's early career and character.

According to the *Book of the Popes*, he was chaste, eloquent,[3] and of a persevering disposition; well versed, as a priest should be, in the Sacred Scriptures and in psalmody, and very fond of the society of the pious. A great almsgiver himself, he was wont, when visiting the sick, which he was in the habit of doing most regularly, to exhort them to redeem their souls by alms. Whatever was entrusted to him in this way, he used to distribute to the poor in secret, as well by night as by day. It was by conduct such as this that, whilst he was occupied with the care of the vestments, money, and plate in the papal *vestiarium* or treasury,[4] he became the beloved of all.

[1] *L. P.* The name of his mother is supplied by the *Ann. vet. Franc.*, an. 799, 'Matre Helisabeth.' With additions, these annals (ap. *P. L.*, t. 98) close with the year 840. They are practically identical with the *Chron. of Moissac* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.) as far as it goes, viz., to 818.

[2] N. 9.

[3] Whence he was known as the Preacher; "qui sermocinarius appellatus est," says Bonizo of Sutri (†1091), ap. Mai, *Spicil. Rom.*, vi. p. 277.

[4] *Cf.* the *trésor* of French cathedrals.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

These were the arts which secured him a unanimous election to the chair of Peter.

After he became Pope, he showed himself a defender of the property of the Church and ever ready to face difficulties. Over merciful, slow to anger, quick to forgive, never returning evil for evil, nor even exacting full punishment when punishment was justly due, but on the contrary, gentle and tender-hearted, he strove to render their due to all—aye, and even more than their due. For we read that he greatly increased the pecuniary presents (*presbiteria*) which the popes were in the habit of making to the Roman clergy at Easter and other times.

Such is what one who knew him, who perchance worked by his side in the *vestiarium*,[1] says of Leo III. It will be important to bear some of these traits of his character in mind, as it is most likely that they were the cause of much of the suffering which fell to his unfortunate lot. One of the weak points of government by ecclesiastics will generally be that, in the always difficult task of nicely adjusting mercy and justice, such rulers will be naturally too prone to mercy. And if, moreover, justice has to be meted out by an ecclesiastic who is by his own particular character already predisposed to be too forgiving, the result will not be conducive to strong government. So, in the absence of any ascertained cause for the violent behaviour towards him of Paschal and his fellow-conspirators, it is far from unlikely that a certain amiable weakness in Leo's character was to some extent, if not the cause, at least the occasion of it.

There is, however, no doubt that the fact, that some of

[1] For it is the highly probable belief of its most important editor, Duchesne, that the *Lib. Pont.* was the work of men attached to the *vestiarium*. *L. P.*, i. clxii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the very phrases[1] used by his biographer to put such a pleasing personality before us were copied from previous papal *lives*, causes a suspicion to arise that we are only gazing on an official portrait. The feeling is natural, but in the present case apparently not well-grounded. Other standards have come down to us by which we can judge him; and we find that he was not only honoured and loved by his successors,[2] and praised by subsequent papal biographers,[3] but extolled by others outside the limits of the local Roman Church. Our own countryman, Alcuin, never wearied of sounding his praises. He knows that the heart of the Pope is all aglow with the fire of God's love, and he would have him scatter from it broadcast blazing sparks "to enkindle the torches of the Churches of Christ";[4] and he does not think it right that the burning light of divine grace which Leo possesses should be hidden beneath his prudent breast as beneath a bushel. It must be set "on the candelabrum of the Apostolic See, that with glorious effulgence" it may shine on all.[5] Prose does not suffice this "angel from Deira" to sound forth the virtues "of Christ's most clear-toned trumpet." In elegiac verse he proclaims him "a pursuer of justice, a lover of

[1] Many of the following are to be found in the biographies of Gregory II., Zachary, or both :—"Erat enim vir castus, loquela fecundus et animo constans. . . . Erat enim ecclesiasticarum rerum defensor et contrariis fortissimus expugnator et nimis mitissimus, eidem ecclesiæ benivolis præclarus amator, tardus ad irascendum et velox ad miserendum, nulli malum pro malo reddente, neque vindictam secundum meritum tribuente, sed pius et misericors, a tempore ordinationis suæ omnibus nituit justitias faciente." *Cf. vit. Greg. II.*, nn. 1 and 2; *vit. Zach.*, n. 1.

[2] *Vit. Pasc.*, n. 16.

[3] *Vit. Serg. II.*, n. 2, where he is called "benignus atque præcipuus."

[4] Ep. 234, which the humble levite Alcuin addresses "to his beloved lord Pope Leo."

[5] *Ib.*, *cf.* Ep. 94.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

true piety, bountiful to the poor," and illustrious throughout the whole world for his merits.[1] Should this seem to some undeniably glowing, but after all somewhat misty and vague, it must be noted that, if it is bright-coloured indeed, it is so because it is the outpouring of one "who ever loved as far as in him lay the most blessed princes and pastors of the holy Roman See."[2] But the fact is that it is not really hazy, because it is founded on exact reports sent to him from his friends on the spot, of the religious and just life[3] of his most dearly beloved[4] Pope Leo. Alcuin's testimony is all the more valuable because, realising that it was for the Pope to illumine "the length and breadth of the Christian empire," he did not hesitate to exhort him not to allow "the hardest of toils to terrify him nor any honied words of flattery to draw him off the path of truth." Knowing, too, the dangers attending the holding of considerable temporal power, he begged him, with holy freedom, not to let "any greed of worldly ambition silence the trumpet of his most sacred throat."[5] And no doubt, in Charlemagne's direct and indirect exhortations to Leo on his accession, of which we shall speak presently, we are listening to the voice of his chief counsellor raised

[1] "Justitiæ cultor, veræ et pietatis amator,
Pauperibus largus, clarus honore pio,
Notus in orbe procul, meritorum laude venustus,
Virtutum titulis nomen amoris habens."
Poem. xv., ap. *M. G. PP.*, i. 238; *cf.* P. xxv., p. 245.

[2] Ep. 94: "Semper S. R. sedis beatissimos, quantum valui, principes et pastores amavi." It will be noticed how Alcuin brings out the temporal position of the popes with his *Principes*. He bestows no higher title on the emperors at Constantinople.

[3] "Scripsisti mihi de domni apostolici religiosa vita et justitia." Ep. 159, to his friend Arno of Salzburg.

[4] Ep. 186.

[5] Ep. 234. *Cf.* Osee, viii. 1. This letter was written in 801. Hence its allusions to the Christian empire and to "sæcularis ambitionis cupiditas."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

not in suspicion of the new Pope's moral character, but in support of it.

Leo announces his election to Charlemagne, 776.

Leo lost no time after his election in notifying it to Charlemagne. Along with the official notice of his election,[1] he sent him letters, presents, the keys of the *confession* of St. Peter, and the standard of the city.[2] He also begged him to send some authoritative person to receive the oaths of fidelity due to him, as Patricius, from the Roman people. All this was, of course, to induce him to continue his role as 'defender' of the Roman Church. For it was not an uncommon practice for religious houses to present "banners to their defenders as symbols of armed advocacy,"[3] and not as typifying that the recipients of them were the lords and masters of those who sent them. That Charlemagne inferred nothing more from the Pope's presents is plain from his letter of instructions[4] to Angilbert, who had to take to Rome the king's acknowledgment of them. For it bears the superscription: "Charles, by the grace of God, king and defender of his Holy Church."

Charlemagne's instructions to his *missus*.

Its contents, however, while they set the zeal of the Frankish monarch for the honour of God's Church in a very favourable light, show that he knew how to exercise that pious freedom towards its earthly head which enabled St.

[1] This, which Charlemagne calls the *decretalis cartula*, was probably formula 82 (ed. Sickel) of the *Liber Diurnus*, there known as the *decretum pontificis*. It was simply a notice of election and not a request for its confirmation, and was a copy of the decree of election which was placed in the archives of the Lateran and which was signed by humilis presbyter, and by "totus clerus cum optimatibus et militibus seu civitonicis." *Cf.* Ep. 93, inter Epp. Alc., of Charlemagne to Leo.

[2] *Ann. Eginhard*, 796; *Ann. Lauris.*, *ib.*

[3] It is Gregorovius (*Rome, etc.*, ii. p. 465) who is speaking—Gregorovius who holds that this action of the Pope shows that Charlemagne was king of Rome. A defender, of course, has rights, and, moreover, if the defender is strong and the defended weak, he may abuse those rights. But, in any case, the defender is not the lord.

[4] Ep. 92, inter Epp. Alc.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Paul "to withstand St. Peter to the face," and St. Bernard to send food for reflection to Eugenius III. 'The youthful Homer' (*Homerianus puer*), as Angilbert was called in the literary circle of the court of Charlemagne, was instructed, whenever he had a suitable opportunity and the Pope was in a mood to listen to him, to urge upon 'the Apostolic lord, our father,' the importance of his life being in every way spotless, the strict observance of the holy canons, and the obligation that lay upon him of governing the Holy Church of God well. The worthy abbot was to impress upon Leo how short would be the time he could hold the honour which now was his, but how endless would be the reward which would be his if he laboured well whilst he held it. He was also to exhort the Pope to do all he could to suppress simony, which in many parts was doing so much harm in the Church. Finally, the *missus* was not to forget to speak to the Pope about the monastery which Charlemagne was anxious to build at St. Paul's, and concerning which he had already treated with Pope Hadrian.[1] The minutes conclude with a prayer that God will guide the heart of Leo, so that he may labour for the advantage of the Church, may be a good father to the king, and may obtain for him strength to do the will of God and to secure perpetual peace.

His own letter to the Pope.

Angilbert was supplied not only with instructions as to the matters he was to lay before the Pope, but with a letter for him which was an answer to the one, now lost, which the king of the Franks had received from him. In its superscription 'Defender of the Church of God' is replaced by 'Patricius of the Romans.'[2] Charlemagne begins by

[1] *Cf. Ann. S. Amandi*, 797, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.

[2] Ep. 93, inter Epp. Alc. In Charlemagne's *Capitularies*, now the one and now the other addition is found to his general title of King of the Franks and Lombards.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

expressing his joy at learning from the Pope's letter and from the decree of election (*decretali chartula*) that Leo has been unanimously elected, and has expressed his intention of being loyal[1] to the king. After a touching allusion to Pope Hadrian, whom he mourns not as one dead, but whom he calls to mind as now living a better life with Christ, he rejoices that in Leo there will be one who will daily pray to St. Peter both for the whole Church and for the king and his people, and will adopt him as his son. The presents which he had prepared to send to Hadrian he is now sending to him. "We have instructed Angilbert as to everything which we would like for ourselves or is necessary for you, that you may by mutual conference, decide what will tend to the exaltation of the Holy Church of God, and to the strengthening of your honour and of our patriciate. For as I concluded a treaty with the most blessed predecessor of your holy paternity, so with your blessedness I wish to make an inviolable treaty of the same faith and love, so that I may obtain the apostolic benediction and the most holy See of the Roman Church may be ever *defended* by our devotion." He then goes on himself to define his relations with the Church more exactly. "For it is our task[2] to *defend* by arms from without the Holy Church of Christ from the ravages of the pagan and the infidel, and from within by the profession of the Catholic faith. It is yours, lifting your hands to God with Moses, to help our warlike

[1] "Gavisi sumus . . . . in humilitatis vestræ obœdientia et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate." Ep. 93.

[2] *Ib.* "Nostrum est . . . . sanctam ubique Christi Ecclesiam ab incursu paganorum . . . . *armis defendere* foris, et intus catholicæ fidei agnitione munire. Vestrum est," etc. *Cf.* the translation of this passage in Gregorovius, *l.c.*, p. 462. "And *may it follow* . . . . that the Holy Church may be guarded," etc. It would seem that Charlemagne's own definition of his position did not suit Gregorovius.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

endeavours with your prayers." In conclusion, he entreats the Pope to let his light shine before men.

Angilbert takes presents to Leo, 796.

The presents of which Angilbert was the bearer were "a great part of the treasure which Eric, Duke of Friuli, had this same year (796) offered to Charlemagne, and which he had taken from the camp of the Avars, who were lords of Pannonia."[1] This great central camp, defended by a triple wall, and situated near the river Theiss, was the place to which the Avars, or Huns, had brought the fruit of their long series of successful raids, and was known as 'the Ring.' The loss of it broke their power and put enormous wealth into the hands of Charlemagne, and thence into the hands of the Pope. This gift of the Frank king undoubtedly helped Leo to be as generous as he was to the churches of Rome.

Letter of congratulation from Alcuin.

Among the many letters of congratulation which Leo would have received on his accession, it is very interesting to find that one from our countryman Alcuin has survived the ravages of time. Begging Leo to accept his letter,[2] he continues: "I have loved, as much as in me lay, the most blessed princes and pastors of the Holy Roman Church, desiring by their most holy intercession to be numbered among the sheep of Christ, which after His resurrection He entrusted to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, to be fed. . . . Thou art, most holy father, the Pontiff elected by God, the Vicar of the Apostles, the heir of the fathers, the ruler (*princeps*) of the Church, the nourisher of the one immaculate dove. . . . The position in which you are, makes you honoured by all, the nobility of your character praised by all, the devotion of your piety loved by all."

The mosaics of Leo's addition to the Lateran.

Whether with the treasures of the Avars' *Ring* or not, Leo executed a work some time before the year 800, which aptly expresses the relations between Charlemagne and

[1] Eginhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 796; *Ann. Lauriss. maj.*, 796. [2] Ep. 94.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

himself which their first letters to each other put before us. The King is the armed defender or protector of the Pope, and as such receives from him a promise to adhere to the Frankish cause, as his predecessors had done. The religious and political relationship between them is admirably typified by the designs of the artists in mosaic employed by the Pontiff. For the iconoclastic persecution had driven many Greek artists into Italy, and rendered possible the renaissance of art, such as it was, which the popes of this period fostered.

To the east of the great pile of buildings, of which the Lateran Palace was even then composed, Leo erected a great hall, called from its superior size the Triclinium majus.[1] This he decorated with mosaics. Although in a ruinous condition, it was still standing as late as the pontificate of Clement XII. (1730–40). Its mosaics had already been restored by Cardinal Baberini in 1625, but, of course, perished with the ruined Triclinium itself under Clement. Benedict XIV., his successor, however, caused a copy of them to be made and placed under a tribune against the side of the oratory *Sancta Sanctorum*, to the north-east of the Lateran, where it may be seen to this day, with three inscriptions in which these facts are set forth at length. This he accomplished in 1743, from designs of it which had been drawn before its destruction.[2] Looking at the apsidal construction of Benedict XIV., there are to be seen two groups of figures. The one on the left shows Our Lord giving the keys to Pope St. Silvester and a standard to the Emperor Constantine. A precisely similar group is depicted on the right. A seated figure with a round nimbus, which the inscription, Scs. Petrus, sufficiently indicates as that of the Prince of the Apostles, is presenting a pallium to Pope Leo, who is kneeling at his right, and

[1] *L. P.*, n. 10.

[2] A fragment of the old mosaic is still preserved in the Vatican library.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

is distinguished by the inscription, Scissimus dn Leo Pp (*Sanctissimus Dominus Leo Papa*). Another kneeling figure on the left of the saint is receiving from him into its right hand a standard. The letters Dn. Carulo Regi around its square nimbus show that the figure is that of the famous King of the Franks. Beneath the picture is a large tablet, on which, in the vulgar Latin of the period, is a prayer to St. Peter calling upon him to grant life to the Pope and victory (*bictoriam*) to the King.[1]

Arno of Salzburg, 798.

A year or two has to elapse before we hear of any further communication between the Pope and Charlemagne. But about the beginning of the year 798 the king gave his approval to the wishes of the Bavarian bishops for an archbishop. To attach Bavaria still more closely to his kingdom, he resolved to strengthen its ecclesiastical organisation. For this purpose he decided to establish an archbishopric; and selecting Arno of Salzburg, the friend of Alcuin, to be its first occupant, sent him to Rome along with other *missi* to receive the pallium from the Pope. The Bavarian bishops, too, sent to make the same request at the same time.[2] Finding that Arno was all that could be desired both in character and learning,[3] he presented him with the pallium,[4] and notified the bishops and the king[5] that he had done as desired by them. In the

[1] A beautiful copy of this mosaic may be seen in Daniel's *Hist. de France*, i. 469, or in Hodgkin's *Italy*, viii., frontispiece. *Cf. Les Mosaïques Chrétiennes de Rome*, by de Jouy, p. 50 ff. (Paris, 1857), and *L. P.*, ii. 35.

[2] Ep. 3, Leo. Ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. 58: "Nobis petitorias emisistis syllabas." *Cf. Ann. Juvavenses*, 798, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.: "Domnus Arn episcopus cum magna legatione ad Romam, et ibidem a Leone P. pallium accepit, et archiepiscopus constituitur."

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Jaffé, 2498, following the 46th formula of those in the *Liber Diurnus*, ed. Sickel.

[5] Epp. 3 and 4, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. p. 58 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

opening sentence of his letter to Charlemagne he unfolds the reason of his complying with his request. "Inasmuch as through your laborious and royal efforts the holy catholic and apostolic Roman Church, enriched with all good things, is this day in glory, it is only proper that we should in every way comply with your reasonable wishes."[1] It would appear that it was not long before the bishops regretted that they had applied for a master, and that they endeavoured, as far as possible, to withdraw themselves from subjection to him. Accordingly, when Arno again had occasion to go to Rome, he induced the Pope to write them a letter exhorting them to obey their new metropolitan, and not to try to weaken the bonds which united them to him by flying in their canonical differences to the secular courts.[2] He begged them to receive with joy, as their predecessors had done, the decisions (*consultum et sanctae fidei documentum*) of the Apostolic See. "For as the Roman Church has received authority from the decrees of the Holy Fathers, that, where Christianity has spread, the vicar of Blessed Peter should have the power of constituting an archbishop, so have we acted in your case. This holy See has had the doing of this in view for a considerable period, but up till our time it has been prevented by various causes from putting its wishes into effect."[3] Now that a metropolitan has been given them, he exhorts them to accept the position and to act in harmony with their new archbishop.

Both the Pope and Charlemagne were the more anxious for the upholding of Arno's authority because to him had been entrusted the conversion of the Avars. Their power had been broken[4] by the Franks in various campaigns from

[1] Ep. 4. [2] Ep. 5. [3] Ep. 5.

[4] Charlemagne despatched his generals 'Hunnos exterminare.' See a fragment *De conversione Carentanorum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 1269 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the year 791 to 795. As well to civilise them as to incorporate them the more readily with his kingdom, Charlemagne, in accordance with his usual policy, endeavoured to make Christians of them as quickly as possible. Therefore no sooner had Arno been made archbishop, and had rendered to him an account of his embassy, than he sent him into the country of the conquered Avars[1]—a country embracing the ancient Noricum and Pannonia, and, as it included the territory between the Danube, the Drave, and the Carpathian Mountains, most of the present Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Arno and Alcuin.

In his successful work among the Avars, Arno was much encouraged by Alcuin, ever anxious to hear of its conversion.[2] It is through the correspondence of these two great friends that we first hear the mutterings of the storm that was to break over the head of the devoted Pope in the early part of the following year. In one letter after another, Alcuin seeks for information about the designs of the Romans, or about the schemes of the Roman nobility.[3] At length, writing to his friend towards the close of 798, he lets us see more plainly to what exactly he is referring: "You wrote to me about the religious life and virtue of our Apostolic Lord, and what troubles he has to endure at the hands of certain sons of discord. For my own part I confess I am rejoiced that, with a pious and faithful mind, without guile, the father of the churches strives to serve

[1] *Ib.* "Retulit ei (Charlemagne) quidquid per eum D. P. Leo mandavit."

[2] He begs him to write "ut sciam . . . . quid Avaria faciat vel credat." Ep. 146. *Cf.* Epp. 150, 156–9.

[3] Ep. 146. "Quid Romanorum nobilitas novi habeat adinventum"; . . . . "quid . . . . de Romanorum consiliis." To illustrate the force of the first phrase, Isaias iii. 8 ("adinventiones eorum contra Dominum . . . . their devices are against the Lord") is compared with it.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

UNIVERSITY

God. Nor is it wonderful that justice should suffer persecution in him at the hands of the wicked, when in Christ, Our Lord, Our Head, the Fount of all goodness and justice, it was persecuted unto death."[1]

The attack on Pope Leo, 799.

And it was nearly persecuted unto death in the person of Pope Leo. The tragic incident we are about to relate had its origin purely in the personal ambition of a section of the nobility, and was not in the least degree prompted by any abstract objections on the part of the Romans to the Pope's having temporal dominion.[2] This is obvious from the fact that its chief agents sprang from the very bosom of the Roman Church itself, and were relations[3] of the late Pope Hadrian.

The chief conspirators.

The principal conspirator, Paschal, was also the principal official of the papal administration. He was a nephew of Hadrian,[4] and under Pope Leo at least was *primicerius* of the Holy See.[5] His lieutenant was Campulus, who from a notary had seemingly been made *saccellarius* (paymaster) by Leo.[6] Allied with them were probably other members of the military aristocracy which the increased temporal power of the Holy See had augmented both in numbers and influence, if it had not actually brought into being. All that is known for certain regarding the motives which

[1] Ep. 159.

[2] The *temporal power* was a bugbear to Gregorovius, and hence here (*Rome*, ii. 478), as elsewhere, he constantly asserts, without any grounds, that it was an equal bugbear to the Roman people in the early Middle Ages.

[3] Theophanes, *Chron.*, 789 (Latin version), calls the conspirators "affines (συγγενεῖς) b. Adriani."

[4] *Cod. Carol.*, Ep. 61, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, iii. ; ed. Jaffé, 62.

[5] *L. P.*, n. xi. *Cf.* Jaffé, i. p. 307, where it appears he was also known as 'senior' and 'consiliarius' of the Holy See.

[6] At any rate, there was a Campulus who was frequently employed by Pope Hadrian, and who then figured as a notary (Ep. Had., *Cod. Car.*, 67 ; ed. J., 68. *Cf.* Ep. Car., ad Leo, Ep. 93, inter Epp. Alc.), whereas the conspirator Campulus is called *saccellarius* by the *L. P.*, n. xiii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

brought about the conspiracy against the Pope is contained in the statement of some of the chronicles, to the effect that, "The Romans (*i.e.* Paschal and his party) condemned or attacked the Pope through envy."[1] But whether the jealousy arose from the fact that Leo was not a member of the aristocracy, and consequently bestowed his favours elsewhere, or because he favoured a section of the nobility to which the relations of the late Pope did not belong, cannot be stated with certainty. Moreover, in this and similar cases it is always well to bear in mind the well-founded satirical remark of that gossiping 'stammering and toothless' old biographer of Charlemagne, the monk of St. Gall. "It is," he says,[2] "a matter of solemn custom with the Romans" to be uniformly inimical to every distinguished Pontiff.

The Greater Litanies.

In accordance with ancient traditions, a notary[3] of the Roman Church had proclaimed, on the feast of St. George (April 23) and in his Church 'in Velabro,' that the procession of the Greater Litany (the Litany of the Saints) would take place, as it does to-day, on the feast of St. Mark (April 25). This Christian custom took the place of the old pagan festival of the Robigalia or of the goddess Rubigo

[1] "Romani per invidiam condemnaverunt papam." *Ann. S. Amandi*, 799: "ob invidiam a sede apostolatus pulsus." *Ann. Petav.*, 799. The *Ann. Lauresh.*, 799, assign the attack to the instigation of the devil—"instigante dyabulo"—all ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. *Cf. Monach. Sangall.*, i. 26, "Invidia cecati."

[2] "Nam ut inter emulos semper bachatur invidia, sollemne Romanis et consuetundinarium fuit, ut omnes papatibus alicujus momenti ad sedem apostolicam per tempora subrogatis jugiter essent infensi vel potius infesti," i. 26. He wrote c. 885. He says of himself (ii. c. 17), "ego balbus et edentulus."

[3] "Quando letania major debet fieri, adnuntiat eam diaconus in statione catholica et dicit: 'Feria tale veniente, collecta in basilica beati illius, statio in basilica sancti illius.'" *Ordo Romanus*, n. 6, ap. Duchesne, *Origines*, p. 473. This particular *ordo* was transcribed about the year 800.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(*rust*[1]), and was instituted for the same purpose, viz., to ask for the divine protection on the fruits of the earth then springing into being. There was a procession connected with both the pagan and the Christian rites, and in both cases it left the city by the Flaminian Gate (Porta del Popolo). But the Christian one, which started from the old Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina,[2] after making stations at the Church of St. Valentine, outside the walls, and at the Ponte Molle, turned to the left to St. Peter's, the Church of the *station* where Mass was celebrated.[3]

The Pope is attacked and mutilated.

When, on the morning of the twenty-fifth, the Pope left the Lateran palace to join the people who were awaiting him at the Church of S. Lorenzo, he was met, of course, by the arch-conspirators Paschal and Campulus. Neither of them was wearing the prescribed dark *planeta*,[4] an ecclesiastical vestment from which our chasuble is the very much curtailed descendant, and which, from its cumbersomeness, was not a suitable garment for men about to engage in deeds of violence. Paschal hypocritically excused himself for not having his planeta by pleading ill-health; Campulus tendered a similar plea. And, "with sweet words in their mouths which they had not in their hearts,"[5] they took their places by the Pontiff's side.

The procession, which had been duly formed in the Church of S. Lorenzo, and which, headed by the poor from the hospitals carrying a painted wooden cross, and by

[1] *Cf.* Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 901 ff.

[2] On the left of the Corso as you face the P. del Popolo.

[3] *Cf.* vol. i., pt. i., p. 47 of this work; Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 163 ff.; Duchesne, *Origines du culte*, pp. 288, 473 ff. Leo caused "the history of the greater litany"—whether of this particular recitation of it or not I cannot say—to be embroidered: "et aliam vestem (fecit) crysoclabam habentem historiam litaniæ majoris." *L. P.*, n. xxxiii.

[4] "Induunt se planitas fuscas." *Ordo*, *l.c.*

[5] "Dulcia verba que non habebant in pectore cum eo loquentes." *L. P.*, n. xi.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

those who bore the seven *stationary* crosses,[1] was to move up the Corso, had scarcely started, when there rushed forth from their place of concealment by the monastery of SS. Stephen and Silvester, a band of armed ruffians. They at once made a dash for the Pope. His attendants, unarmed and helpless, fled in all directions. Leo himself, however, was seized, dashed to the ground and stripped; and whilst Paschal stood at his head and Campulus at his feet, a hasty attempt was made to deprive their victim of his eyes and tongue.[2]

Thinking their deed of blood was accomplished, the assassins withdrew, leaving the unfortunate Pontiff lying bleeding in the street. But finding no immediate attempt was being made to rescue him, they returned, dragged him into the Church of St. Silvester, again gashed his face (eyes and tongue),[3] covered him with blows, and left him half dead, bedewed with his own blood, before the very altar. They confined him at first in the adjoining monastery; but fearing that, if left there, his whereabouts would soon be discovered, as it would be naturally suspected that he had been taken there, they forced the abbot (*eguminus*) of the Greek monastery of St. Erasmus[4] on the Cœlian to

[1] *Ordo, l.c.*

[2] "Ferino more comprehendentes . . . . crudeliter oculos evellere et ipsum penitus cæcare *conati sunt.*" *L. P.*, n. xii.

[3] "*Iterum* eum *bis* oculos et linguam amplius crudeliter eruerunt. Again more cruelly twice plucked out his eyes and tongue." *L. P.*, *ib.* Now it is quite certain that the eyes and tongue cannot be extracted *twice*. Hence the biographer must have meant his *eruerunt* to be equivalent to his former 'eruere conati sunt,' *i.e.* he meant to state that the conspirators made a more cruel attempt than before on the Pope's eyes and tongue. Leo himself, too, afterwards only said that they 'debilitare *voluerunt*.' *Cf.* his oath, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 63.

[4] It stood behind the Church of S. Stefano Rotondo. Even its ruins are no longer visible. "Fecerunt eum (the abbot) ad se venire clam per nocte." *L. P.* From these words it seems to me that the abbot took charge of the Pope on compulsion.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

receive him. Thither they took him by night, and kept him under the strictest surveillance.

The Pope recovers the use of speech, etc., and is rescued.

"But God Almighty Himself . . . . wonderfully brought to naught their wicked attempt." Whilst still in the monastery on the Cœlian, "by the Will of God and the intercession of Blessed Peter, the Keybearer of the Kingdom of Heaven, he recovered his sight and received back the use of his tongue."[1] Moreover, by the connivance of friends within the monastery, he was let down at night by a rope into the arms of the chamberlain Albinus and other god-fearing men.[2] Escorted to St. Peter's, he was received by the people with every demonstration of joy, whilst his enemies, quarrelling with each other, or else in despair, were only saved from killing each other by being led to sack the house of Albinus.[3] Leo had been taken to St. Peter's, and not back to the Lateran, because it happened that, at that time, there were in residence there two *missi* of Charlemagne, viz., Wirund, abbot of Stablo, and Winichis, Duke of Spoleto, and conqueror of the Greeks (788).[4] As the latter had no great force with him, he did not think it wise to remain in the city, but at once escorted his illustrious but unfortunate charge to his ducal city (Spoleto).

Leo sets out for Germany.

Thither from all the cities 'of the Romans' flocked the chief clergy and laity to offer their sympathy to the Pope. With some of these in his train, Leo set out for the north to seek the protection of Charlemagne. The author of the *Carmen de Carolo Magno*, whether Angilbert (†814), or

[1] "Et visum recepit et lingua ad loquendum illi restituta est." *L. P.*, n. xiii.

L. P. Cf. Ann. Einhardi, 800: "Albini cujusdam, cubicularii sui, cura noctu per murum demissus," ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.; and *Ann. Lauriss. min.*, ap. *ib.*, pp. 119 f.

[3] *L. P.*, nn. xiv. and xv.

[4] *Annal. Lauriss.*, an. 799. *Cf. L. P.* and *Ann. Einhard*, 799; *Ann. Fuld.*, 799, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. 352.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

whoever else was its composer, poetically represents the Pope as begging the legates, 'by Charles' dear health,' to defend him, driven *from his own territories*, and to bring him before the face of their king;[1] and the legates as answering, "Apostolic Pastor, priest, revered throughout the world, it is for you to order whatever you desire; for us, O best of fathers, to obey your behests." The same writer tells us of the crowds that came to look upon the Pope as he went north, eager to offer him presents, to kiss his feet, and, as the poet quaintly puts it, to gaze in astonishment at new eyes in an old head, and to hear a tongue that had been torn out speak.[2]

News of the attack on the Pope was, of course, soon conveyed to Charlemagne, and by him to his adviser, Alcuin. He at once wrote[3] to the king (May 799), and pointed out: "On you alone the whole safety of the churches of Christ rests . . . . They (the Romans), blinded in their own hearts, have blinded their own head." In conclusion he begged him to make peace with the Saxons,

[1] "Vos ego per caram Caroli conjuro salutem
Regis ut ejectum me defendetis in armis
Finibus a *propriis* et sedis honore repulsum."
Ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 98, p. 1441.

"Et capite in veteri visus cernendo novellos
Obstupeant, linguamque loqui mirantur ademptam." *Ib.*

[3] Ep. 174 (ed. Jaffé, 114). This letter contains the following well-known passage, in which Alcuin is thought by some to have impressed upon Charlemagne that he ought to be emperor: "Nam tres personæ in mundo altissime hucusque fuerunt: id est apostolica sublimitas; . . . . quid vero in eo actum sit, qui rector præfatæ sedis fuerat, mihi bonitas vestra innotescere curavit. Alia est imperialis dignitas; quam impie gubernator imperii illius depositus sit . . . . ubique fama narrante crebrescit. Tertia est regalis dignitas, in qua vos D. N. J. Christi dispensatio rectorem populi Christiani disposuit, ceteris dignitatibus potentia excellentiorem, ... regni dignitate sublimiorem." But it does not appear that the passage goes beyond stating what was true at the moment when Leo was outraged by his enemies and Constantine V. was deposed by Irene.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

against whom he was then leading his army, as the more weighty affairs at Rome needed his full attention. "For it is better that the feet (of the Church) should suffer rather than the head." Another letter[1] (about July 10th) exhorts the king to take suitable steps to receive the Pope.

Leo at Paderborn.

In this matter Charlemagne was not wanting. He first sent forward to meet him Hildebald, archbishop of Cologne, and Count Aschericus; and then his son, King Pippin, and more of his nobles. He was at this time staying at Paderborn. Thither went the Pope, and there, "as the Vicar of St. Peter," the king[2] received him with the greatest honour and affection. With Charlemagne the Pope stayed some weeks. During that interval his enemies were not idle. Their 'public spirit' they displayed by plundering and destroying the papal property, and their enmity to the Pope by maliciously accusing him to Charlemagne of all kinds of crimes. But neither were Leo's friends inactive. Alcuin, though detained at Tours by ill-health, earnestly exerted himself in the interests of the Pope, and wrote (August 799) both to Charlemagne and to his friend Arno of Salzburg. The king was advised to consider carefully how to treat the Romans and how to take measures that Leo, "freed by divine providence from the hands of his enemies, might be able in security to serve Christ, Our Lord, in his See."[3] To Arno he

[1] Ep. 177 (J., 118).

[2] "Rex pater Europæ, et summus Leo pastor in orbe" (*Carmen. Cf. L. P.*, etc.).

[3] Ep. 178 (J., 119):

> "Nam salvare Petrus cum posset in urbe Quirina
> Hostibus ex atris insidiisque feris,
> Hoc tibi salvandum, rex clementissime, misit.
> . . . . .
> Per se reddit ei membrorum damna pavenda,
> Et per te sedis oficiique decus."
>
> Theodulf, *Versus ad Carol.*, ap. *M. G. PP.*, i. 524.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

wrote[1]: "I understand that there are many rivals (*æmulatores*) of our lord the Pope, who are seeking to depose him by subtle suggestions, and to lay to his charge crimes of adultery or perjury, and who maintain that he should clear himself of these charges on oath. They are thus working in secret that he may lay down the pontificate without taking the oath and pass his life in some monastery. This must not be done at all; nor must he consent to bind himself by an oath, nor lose his See. . . . What bishop throughout the Church of Christ would be secure, if he, who is the head of Christ's churches, be cast down by the wicked?"[2] Arno must do his best for the Pope's safety and authority, and remember that it is laid down in the canons that the Apostolic See was to judge and not be judged.[3] To Alcuin's regret, however, the Pope seems even at this time to have made some solemn denial of the misdeeds alleged against him.[4]

Leo is escorted back to Rome.

Whilst Leo was with Charlemagne at Paderborn, he consecrated the altar of the church there, placing therein relics of St. Stephen, the protomartyr, which he had brought from Rome,[5] and received the clergy of all ranks, who flocked to him from every side. With the approval of his nobles, cleric as well as lay, the Frankish monarch caused him to return to Rome with a great company of

[1] Ep. 179 (J., 120). In this letter he says of Leo, "quem confessorem Christi nominare et venerari omnibus Christi ecclesiis æquum arbitror."

[2] Ep. 179. "Quis potest immunis esse in ecclesia Christi pastor, si ille a malefactoribus dejicitur, qui caput est ecclesiarum Christi?"

[3] "In aliis legebam canonibus apostolicam sedem judiciariam esse, non judicandum" (*cf. Concil. Sinuessan*, a. 303, a pretended council). *Ib.*

[4] Ep. 181 (J., 121). For he fears lest "apostolica negatio renovaretur in urbe antiquæ potestatis, et sit error novissimus pejor priori."

[5] *Trans. S. Liborii*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, iv. 150.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

his bishops and counts.[1] Received in each city through which he passed 'like the apostle himself,' he was welcomed at the Ponte Molle (November 29) by the Romans of every rank, by the clergy and by the nobility, by the *senate* and by the military, by the nuns and by the deaconesses—in a word, by all the Romans, carrying, as usual, the ensigns and banners of their various quarters. Equally demonstrative in their reception of the Pope, who had, as all believed, received back from Heaven his sight and speech, were the four great Scholæ (colonies or guilds) of foreigners, whose quarters were around St. Peter's, viz., the Franks, Frisians, English and Lombards, and no doubt too the Greeks, from their quarter on the Aventine and the slopes of the Palatine.[2] With canticles of triumph Leo was escorted to St. Peter's, where he said Mass and gave to all present "the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ."[3]

His enemies are tried.

Next day he once again took up his residence at the Lateran. At the same palace were also lodged Arno of

[1] "Roma illum remeari in sua apostolica sede honorifice, cum nimio, ut decuit, emiserunt honore." *L. P.* n. xviii. *Cf.* n. xx. The *Annals*, called *of Eginhard*, relate (an. 799), "Romam cum magno honore per legatos regis reductus." *Cf. Annal. vet. Franc.*, an. 799.

[2] The churches of the *scholæ* will serve to mark their localities more exactly. S. Salvatore, the church of the Franks, is now among the buildings of the *Holy Office*, and was afterwards known by the additions *in Macello*, *de Torrione* and *de Ossibus*. The little Church of S. Michele, *in Borgo* or *in Sassia*, still standing, was the centre of the *Schola Frisonum*. Not far from it stood the church of the Lombards, viz., S. Justin's, destroyed in the sixteenth century. The Church of Our Lady, which was the title of the original church of the Anglo-Saxon quarter, is now represented by S. Spirito, *in Sassia*, built in 1528 to replace the former which had been destroyed by the Saracens. S. Maria, *in Cosmedin*, was the church of the Schola Græcorum. The last-named schola dates from the seventh century; the others, of which the oldest seems to have been the Anglo-Saxon, from the eighth. *Cf. L. P.*, ii. 36.

[3] "Ubi et missarum solemnia celebravit, et omnes pariter corpus et sanguinem D. N. J. C. fideliter participati sunt." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Salzburg and the other envoys of Charlemagne; and there, in Leo's new Triclinium, they examined the Pope's enemies for more than a week. Fierce and bitter they proved to be. They tried both violence and calumny. Plots were hatched against the king's envoys and the wildest charges made against the Pope's character. But to no purpose. The Frankish power was too strong, their sense of justice too keen. Accordingly, finding that his accusers had no case, the envoys caused them to be seized, powerful though they were, and sent to France.[1]

Charlemagne's fourth visit to Rome, 800.

Next year Charlemagne held, in August, a *placitum* or one of his great assemblies of his nobles, at Mayence, and, "finding that there was peace throughout his dominions, he bethought him of the injury which the Romans had inflicted upon Pope Leo,"[2] and set out for Rome. He availed himself of this first opportunity, for Alcuin had impressed upon him that "Rome, which has been touched by the discord of brethren, still keeps the poison which has been instilled into her veins, and thus compels your venerable Dignity to hasten from your sweet abodes in Germany in order to repress the fury of this pestilence."[3]

At Nomentum (Mentana), some fifteen miles from Rome, on the Nomentan Way, he was met by the Pope, who, after supping with him, returned to the city. The next day, after the usual solemn reception, Leo introduced him into

[1] It is Alcuin's correspondence that gives us this glimpse of the violent doings of Paschal, etc. Writing to Arno about the close of 799, he speaks of a letter received from him, "quærimonias quasdam habens de moribus apostolici et de periculo tuo apud eum (Rome) propter Romanos." He adds that he burnt the document to prevent any scandal arising, if it came into other hands. Ep. 184 (J., 127). "Nihil habuerunt (Paschalis, etc.), adversus eum, quod dicerent. Tunc illos comprehendentes praedicti missi magni regis emiserunt eos Franciis." *L. P. Cf. Annal. V. Franc.*, etc.

[2] *Annal. V. Franc.*, 800.

[3] Ep. 178 (J., 119). Hodgkin's version.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

St. Peter's. Seven days later the king convened an assembly in St. Peter's of the chief clergy and nobility both of the Franks and Romans. After Charlemagne and the Pope had taken their seats together (*sedentes pariter*) the principal clergy also sat down, whilst all the rest of the clergy and the nobility remained standing.[1] The king then explained that the principal reason which had brought him to Rome was that the charges brought against the Pope might be looked into, and that the present assembly had been summoned that it might examine the accusations.[2] If the examination of the charges meant examination of the Pope, the assembled prelates made it very plain that they were not going to be partners in anything of that kind. "We dare not judge the Apostolic See, which is the head of all God's churches. For by it and by His Vicar are we all judged. But as ancient custom dictates, the Apostolic See is not judged by any one. And in accordance with the canons, what the chief bishop decrees we obey."[3] The Pope, however, declared that, following the example of his predecessors, he was ready to clear himself of the charges levelled against him. The examination of his accusers was proceeded with. But not one of them was able to prove a point against him, or perhaps, it should be said, was even willing to make an attempt so to do. For the words of the Frankish chroniclers on this point are somewhat ambiguous.[4] However, it was generally agreed that they had accused the Pope not for the sake of

[1] *L. P.* [2] *Ib.*, and *Annal. Lauris. et Eginhard*, ad an. 800.
[3] *L. P.*
[4] *Annal. vet. Franc.* ad an. "Nullus probator criminum inventus est." *Cf. Annal. Lauris.*; *Eginhardi*; *Moissiac*, ad an. 800. The *Ann. Fuld.*, 800, following the others, have the following: "Nullus probator criminum ei objectorum esse voluit." *Cf.*, on the contrary, the *Annals of Lauresheim*: "Ibi venerunt in præsentia qui ipsum apostolicum condemnare voluerant." *Cf.* Ep. Alc., 212 (J., 157)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

justice[1] but through envy. Thus ended all that there was of a trial strictly so-called. "Then," say the annals of Lorsch, "it seemed good to the most pious prince Charles himself, to all the bishops and the assembled fathers, that if he himself (Leo) chose, and himself asked, but not by their judgment, but quite of his own free will, he might purge himself.[2] Accordingly on another day (December 23), in the same place, viz., St Peter's, the Pope, with the book of the Gospels in his hand, ascended the pulpit, and before the assembled Franks and Romans declared 'on oath in a loud tone,'[3] that of his own free will, and not judged by any man, and without any intention of forming a precedent, but more certainly to free men's minds from any unjust suspicion, he wished to clear himself on oath. Hence he solemnly averred that he had never done, nor commanded to be done, the wicked deeds of which he had been charged. Thereupon, all present burst forth into the *Te Deum*, and thanked God that they had the happiness of having the Pope preserved for them 'sound both in body and soul.'[4]

[1] "Non propter aliam justitiam, sed per *invidiam* eum condemnare volebant (*Annal. Lauresh.*, ad an. 800). *Cf. Chron. Moissiac*, *ib.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. p. 304. From the actual data supplied to us by contemporary historians, whose 'ipsissima verba' we have quoted, it is absolutely *evident* that the motives for the action of Leo's enemies assigned by Gregorovius (*Rome*, etc., p. 476 f.) are the figments of his imagination. When he 'assumes' (p. 485) that 'the insurgents' . . . . rested their cause "on the ancient majesty and freedom of the Roman people," he is simply inventing.

[2] *Annal. Lauresh.*, ad an. 800 (*ib.*, p. 38). "Si ejus voluntas fuisset, et ipse *petisset*, non tamen per eorum judicium sed spontanea voluntate se purificare debuisset." *Cf. Chron. Moissiac* (*ib.*, p. 304). The *Ann. vet. Franc.* say that the Pope took the oath "nullo judicante, sed sua voluntate."

[3] *L. P. Cf. Annal. Lauriss. min.*, etc. The formula of the oath taken by the Pope is given in the different edd. of the councils, Mansi, etc., and ap. *Monument. Carol.*, ed. Jaffé, p. 378.

[4] 'Laudes Deo dabant, quia apostolicum Leonem sanum in corpore et in anima custoditum habere meruerunt." *Annal. vet. Franc.*, ad an. 800.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Paschal, etc., condemned to death.

After Christmas, Paschal and the other conspirators, bitterly upbraiding one another in their hour of need,[1] were condemned to death in accordance with the Roman law, as guilty of high treason.[2] However, despite the treatment he had received at their hands, Leo, in keeping with the character assigned to him by his biographer, actuated by his merciful disposition,[3] begged that life and limb might be spared them. His request was granted, and the prisoners were sent into exile in France.

Were the eyes of Pope Leo put out?

From some of the quotations adduced in the above narrative, it will perhaps have been observed that there was current at the time a belief in the minds of many, that Pope Leo had been actually deprived of his eyes, or at least of his sight, and of his tongue, and that they had been miraculously restored to him. A careful examination of the best authorities, however, seems to show that if the Pope's sight was miraculously restored, his eyes at any rate had not been actually put out. Turning to the contemporary author in the *Book of the Popes*, we find that after saying that an attempt was made to put out the eyes of the Pope, he says a little further on that they were plucked out a *second time*.[4] As it has been already noted this must mean, that a second attempt was made to put out his eyes. That his enemies got no further than making the attempt is the statement of the best contemporary chroniclers.[5] Hence Theophanes's version of this

[1] Campulus to Paschal: "Mala hora faciem tuam vidi, eo quod tu me misisti in isto periculo." *L. P.*, n. 26.

[2] *Annal. Einhardi*, ad an. 801: "ut majestatis rei."

[3] *Ib.* "Pio affectu." Gregorovius knows better than Eginhard, and says that Leo interceded to save their lives, because he feared that "the execution of Adrian's relatives . . . . would increase the hatred with which he was already regarded" (*Rome*, etc., ii. p. 493).

[4] *L. P. Cf. supra.*

[5] *Annal. Lauresh.*, ad an. 799: "Voluerunt eruere oculos"; *Annal. Lauriss.*, *ib.*, "oculos eruere moliuntur"; *Annal. Einhardi*, "erutis

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

matter may be the correct one. Though he lived at such a distance from Rome, and is in general not well acquainted with the affairs of the West, still he was in the strictest sense a contemporary, and, by the time that the story had reached him, it may have had time, so to speak, to cool down to its original dimensions. He says[1] that after the first attempt on the Pope's eyes, the men who had been commissioned to completely deprive him of the use of them were touched with pity, and did not quite destroy his sight. In any case there cannot be a doubt that the unfortunate Pontiff was dreadfully mangled about the face, and it is only natural to suppose that, under the circumstances, the report would be bruited about that he had actually been blinded. And, if the account of Theophanes is true, it would be the very report that the men who had spared him would have spread abroad to screen themselves from the vengeance of Paschal. And so the first news that reached Charlemagne, and which he communicated to Alcuin, would seem to have been that the Pope had lost his eyes. For in his reply to Charlemagne's communica-

oculis *ut aliquibus visum est.*" *Cf. Chron. Moissiac*, ad an.; all ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. Even the Monk of St. Gall, who might have been expected to have adopted the more wonderful account, says it happened by Divine Providence, " ut nequaquam oculos ejus eruerent, sed rasoriis per medios inciderent." *De Car. Mag.*, i. 26. He wrote *c.* 885. As might be expected, the poets (Poeta Saxo, *ib.*, and the *Carmen*) adopt the more sensational story. The same Eginhard, however, who is thought to have written the annals, in his *Life of Charlemagne* (§ 28), says that Leo's "eyes were plucked out and his tongue cut off." It may be that, when he wrote his annals, he found reason to modify the statement he had made on this matter in his *Life*.

[1] *Chron.*, ad an. 789 (Latin version). "Haud ei penitus oculorum lumen extinctum est." *Cf. Hist. Miscella*, ap. Migne, *P. L.*, t. 95, pp. 112-4. John, the Neapolitan deacon (*Gest. Epp. Neap.*, *c.* 48) writes: "Cujus cum vellent oculos eruere, inter ipsos tumultus, sicut assolet fieri, unus ei oculus paululum est læsus."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tion, Alcuin speaks[1] of the Romans who, blinded in their hearts, 'had blinded their own head.' But writing a few months later (August), he seems to thank God that the Pope's eyes were miraculously prevented from being torn out —which is probably the true view to take of the case— and that his wounds had healed so quickly. Speaking[2] of what Charlemagne had told him of the 'wonderful recovery' of the Pope (and that the recovery was, at least, marvellously quick cannot be doubted), he thinks that every Christian should thank God for restraining the hands of the wicked men from carrying into effect their design of blinding their head. Finally, according to a passage quoted above, it would appear that even Leo himself stated publicly that his enemies did not get further than trying to mutilate him (*me . . . . debilitare voluerunt*). However one may view the evidence here adduced, most apt is the reflection of another contemporary of the Pope, Theodulfus,[3] Bishop of Orleans: "If the Pope's eyes and tongue were restored to him, it is a miracle. It is equally a miracle that his enemies were unable to deprive him of them. I know not whether I must marvel more at the former or the latter."

Two days[4] after the Pope had taken in St. Peter's the oath by which he proclaimed his innocence of the charges made against his character, there took place, in the same

Charlemagne is crowned emperor, Dec. 25. 800.

[1] *Mon. Alc.*, p. 463, Ep. 114, dated May 799.

[2] Ep. 178 (J., 119): "De apostolici mirabili sanitate . . . . decet omnem populum Christianum . . . . gaudere et laudare nomen . . . . Dei . . . . qui impias compescuit manus a pravo voluntatis effectu; volentes cæcatis mentibus lumen suum extinguere." etc.

[3] *Carmina*, l. iii. c. 6:

Reditta sunt, mirum est; mirum est auferre nequisse,
Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer an inde magis.

[4] If in some chronicles the crowning of Charlemagne is assigned to December 25, 801, it is because the new year was then reckoned by some from Christmas Day.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

basilica, an event noticed by all the historians of the time, an event which, apart from the great facts of divine revelation, has exercised more influence on the history of Europe than perhaps any other—especially if the comparatively unostentatious character of its performance be taken into consideration. The event in question, the crowning of Charlemagne by Leo as Emperor of the West, was the occasion of much fierce controversy in the later Middle Ages, when the harmonious working of the Empire and the Church came to an end; and it has been the occasion of modern historians unfolding endless theories. These controversies and theories can scarcely be said to have greatly enlightened the subject. For it was a question sufficiently understood and explained by the contemporary authors who relate it. To them we will turn in the first instance.

Charlemagne proceeds to St. Peter's.

On the Christmas Day of the year 800, Charlemagne, clad not in his ordinary Frankish dress, viz., in his short tunic with its silver border, his vest of sable, his blue cloak and sword, and his hose bound round with thongs,[1] but in the long tunic, chlamys or green mantle, sandals and gold circlet[2] of the Roman *Patricius*, went with his nobles to hear the Pope's Mass in St. Peter's. He would have made his way to this venerable basilica, then already nearly five hundred years old, by the magnificent colonnade which led up to it from the bridge of S. Angelo. A fine flight of thirty-five steps brought him to the *atrium* or *paradise*, a sort of courtyard with arcades running all round it and with two fountains in its midst. Gazing on the tombs of the popes on his left, he entered the Church by the great central doors—the *Porta Argentea*. The building he entered was,

[1] Eginhard, *Vit. Car.*, c. 23.

[2] *Cf.* Benzo (eleventh century), ap. Watterich, i. 79 n., and the *Ann. Roman.*, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 332. The latter speak of the "circulum quod *ab antiquitus* Romani coronabant patricios."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of course, not the present glorious structure of Bramante, but the basilica which had been erected by Pope Sylvester (*c.* 323) on the site of the oratory built by Pope Anacletus (first century) in the gardens of Nero, at the foot of the Vatican hill, where the first Christians had been martyred in Rome, and where the body of the Prince of the Apostles had been finally laid to rest. Though not to be compared in size with the present church, which in turn stands on the site of Sylvester's, the old basilica was a large edifice, over three hundred feet long and some two hundred broad, with its nave and aisles separated by four rows of twenty-four marble or granite columns of varying lengths, taken from old Pagan temples. When the spacious *atrium* which is now being erected in front of St. Paul's *Without-the-Walls* is completed, the traveller will gaze on a veritable counterpart of old St. Peter's.

As Charlemagne and his suite passed up the broad nave in stately procession, and as they crossed the great disc of red porphyry, on which his successors were to be crowned, there must have been some who, gazing on inscriptions bearing the names of the emperors Trajan and Galienus,[1] were reflecting on the unexpected successor they were soon to have.

Approached on each side by two flights of seven porphyry steps, stood the high altar in the centre of the chord of the apse. In front of it was a sort of vestibule flanked by twelve twisted columns of white marble,[2] on

[1] "Here and there (in old St. Peter's) a pagan inscription still remained, so that even in Severano's time (seventeenth century) there could still be seen one that bore the name of Trajan, another that of Galienus." Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 274, a most fascinating book. In it, as in Lanciani's charming *Pagan and Christian Rome*, will be found various illustrations and plans of old St. Peter's.

[2] Eleven of them still exist. One is in the Capella della S. Colonna in the present St. Peter's.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which rested Gregory III.'s beams covered with embossed plates of silver supporting silver candelabra,[1] and paved by Hadrian I. with pure silver. Through the silver gates affording admittance to the choir, which was enclosed by walls of marble[2] and decorated with images of silver, and which was lit by the enormous candelabrum of Hadrian I. with its 1365 candles,[3] walked the stalwart king of the Franks. Crossing its vestibule, he found himself in front of the *confession* of the Prince of the Apostles and below the high altar. There by the golden railings[4] before the *confession* he knelt in prayer,[5] and the Mass began.

Is crowned. After the singing of the Gospel, Leo arose from his seat in the centre of the apse, and placed 'a most precious crown'[6] upon the head of the Frankish monarch. At once from bishop and noble, from Frank and Roman, burst forth the acclamation, "To Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, to our great and pacific emperor, life and victory!"[7] Thrice did the great basilica's lofty roof ring

[1] *Cf.* vol. i., pt. ii., p. 210 of this work, and especially Barnes, *l.c.*, p. 193 f.

[2] As are to this day the choirs of S. Clement and S. Maria in Cosmedin.

[3] Christmas Day was one of the four days on which Hadrian ordained that it had to be lighted. *L. P.*, *in vit. Had.*, n. 46.

[4] By the work of Hadrian and Leo III., "the shrine attained the summit of its splendour." Barnes, *l.c.*, p. 198.

[5] "Cum rex ad missam ante confessionem b. Petri Ap. ab oratione surgeret, Leo papa coronam capiti ejus imposuit," etc. *Ann. Lauris. maj.*

[6] "Coronam auream expressam signo sanctitatis . . . . posuit." *Ann. Xant.*, 801, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.

[7] *L. P.*, n. xxiii.; *Ann. Lauris. maj.*, an. 800. The acclamation in the text, cited from the *L. P.*, is found, with the substitution of the word *emperor* for *king*, in what are called the *Carolingian litanies* (or the *laudes*), as they were first employed when Charlemagne visited Rome in 874. As they were then rendered, there were exclamations of "Life to Hadrian, the chief bishop (*summo pontifici*) and universal Pope!" and "To Charles, the most excellent and crowned of God, to the great and pacific King of the Franks and Lombards and Patricius

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the glad shout, and thrice did its mighty beams vibrate to it. Then did the *schola cantorum* intone the litanies. God and His Saints were implored to give all prosperity to the Pope, the emperor and all the Franks. After the chanting of these *laudes*, Charlemagne was duly 'adored' as emperor "after the manner of the ancient princes" by the Pope and all the nobility.[1] On the completion of the ceremony of adoration "the most holy Pontiff anointed with holy oil his most excellent son Charles as king."[2]

of the Romans, life and victory!" ap. Mabillon, *Analecta Vetera*, ii. 687. The series of acclamations invoking Our Lord, the angels and saints for the benefit of certain persons was technically known as the *laudes*. Duchesne (*L. P.*, ii. 37) gives a complete specimen of them from MS. Latin 13159 of the Bib. Nat., which dates from the short interval between the death of Hadrian and the restoration of the empire, and from which we see that invocations were offered up for Pope Leo, Charlemagne, the royal family, and the *judges* and whole army of the Franks.

[1] "Post laudes ab Apostolico more antiquorum principum adoratus est, adque ablato patricii nomine, imperator et Augustus est appellatus." *Ann. Lauris. maj.*, 800. *Cf. L. P.*, "ab omnibus constitutus est imperator Romanorum." The first emperor crowned with religious rites seems to have been Leo I., who received his crown in 457 from the patriarch of Constantinople (Bury, *Later Rom. Emp.*, i. 228).

[2] The son here spoken of was Charlemagne's eldest son Charles, and not his son Pippin (who had already been anointed), as is generally stated by modern writers. The assertion of the *L. P.* is borne out by Alcuin, who, writing to the young Charles (Ep. 217, J. 162, after April 4, 801), says he has heard from the Pope that, with the consent of 'David,' *i.e.* Charlemagne, he had crowned him king: "nomen cum corona regiæ dignitatis vobis impositum." Besides, when Theophanes states (A.M. 6289) that Leo anointed Charlemagne 'from head to foot,' he has possibly confused the imperial coronation of the one Charles with the regal unction of the other. The anointing of Christian kings seems to have been first practised among the Visigoths in Spain in the seventh century (*cf. L. P.*, ii. 38). Certainly later on the Western emperors were anointed; and both Louis II., in his famous letter to Basil I., and Pope Nicholas I., in a letter to Charles the Bald (Ep. 79, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119), assert that Charlemagne was anointed when he was made emperor.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

After the Mass was over "the most serene lord emperor," and his "most excellent royal sons and daughters," offered a number of magnificent presents, silver tables, golden crowns and chalices to the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the Lateran and St. Mary Major. To the last-named the emperor presented a cross adorned with gems, which, at his particular request, the Pope ordained should be used in the processions of the greater litanies.[1]

Thus, quietly, was accomplished an event which was to give a special colour to the history of Europe for centuries and was to be fraught with the greatest consequences both for good and for evil.

The causes that led to the revival of empire in the West.

Concerning this most momentous act many questions have been asked, and to each question many and widely differing solutions have been offered. It will here be utterly impossible to propound all these queries, and still more impossible to notice all the answers which have been suggested to them. Of the former we shall note only the more pertinent, and of the latter only bring forward such as seem most in harmony with the plain meaning and spirit of the best contemporary authorities.

As, of course, a great historical event cannot be thought of as a *deus ex machinâ*, but must be considered as the natural outcome of preceding causes, as fast welded with other links of the great chain of human events, the first inquiry regarding the revival of empire in the West which would seem to suggest itself is one into the reasons which induced men to contemplate that revival. Why did they think of bringing back the seat of empire to Rome?

In the year 476, the imperial insignia had been sent from the West to the emperor Zeno, with an intimation that one emperor would suffice for both the East and the West.

[1] *L. P.*, n. xxiv. f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Now, in the year 800, we find the same West demanding that an emperor should once again hold sway in its midst. Those who had with ill-disguised contempt sent to the emperor at Constantinople the crown and purple robe of Augustulus were the conquering Teutons. But the descendants of those who had lived under the Empire of Trajan, of Constantine, and of Theodosius the Great, of those who had known the *Pax Romana*, looked on with shame and apprehension. And they hoped that the day would not be long in coming when the Teuton hordes which oppressed them with their cruel swords, and with their barbarous laws, would once again be made to respect the might of the imperial arms and obey the right of the imperial laws. This was especially true of the Churchmen, who never lost sight of the sublime idea of One Church and One State, such as it had been developed by Eusebius, Bishop of Cesarea under the first Christian emperor. "Formerly," he wrote, "the world with its diverse peoples and localities was divided into a countless number of different kinds of governments. Hence endless wars and dire plunderings and ravages which are their consequences. This division was intensified by the different gods which each section adored. But to-day that the cross, the instrument of salvation and the trophy of victory, has been shown to the world, and has been opposed to the demons, straightway their work, *i.e.* that of the false gods, is dissipated like a breath; dominations, principalities, tyrannies, republics have had their day. 'One God' is preached to all men, and a single empire is ready to receive and contain them all, to wit, the Roman Empire. Thus at the same time, by God's holy will, two seeds have sprouted and have shot forth from the earth mighty trees which have covered the world with their shade—the Empire of Rome and the faith of Christ; and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

these are destined to unite the whole human race in the bonds of an eternal concord."[1]

These glorious yearnings never faded from the hearts of the vanquished, even after they had realised that Constantinople could not fulfil them. Moreover, by the year 800, the case had altered even for the conquering Teutons themselves. By that date, at length comparatively civilised, they were themselves in turn in dread of the surrounding barbarians. Those in the North had already heard disquieting stories of the long-ships of the terrible Danes and Norsemen which were soon to work such dread havoc.[2] Those in the South had already felt the keen edge of the Moslem scimitar; the fame of the power of the great Caliph Haroun-el-Raschid was in the mouths of all. The world, then, must have an emperor "to make head against the nations which were surging up all round it," or, as a contemporary author expresses it, "lest the pagans

[1] *De laud. Const.*, c. 16. "Unus quidem Deus omnibus prædicatus est; simul vero unum apud omnes imperium viguit Romanorum. . . . Duæ maximæ potestates, velut ex una transenna simul emissæ, cuncta repente pacarunt et in concordiam reduxerunt, Romanum videlicet imperium . . . . et Christi doctrina." Ap. *P. G.* (Latin version only), t. 13. This Christian idea of the union of Church and State soon found an expression in art. Among the numerous textile fabrics comparatively recently discovered at Achmim, in Upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, and known as Panopolis in Ptolemaic times, was a piece of woven silk. "Above is represented the imperial eagle attacking an evil beast; below Christ slaying the dragon. . . . The picture plainly represents the Empire and the Church united in the suppression of evil. It is strange to find upon so ancient a monument the expression of an idea which was destined to become at once the greatest and most disturbing ideal of European history." Lowrie, *Christian Art and Archæology* (London, 1901), pp. 241 and 372. The monument "is ascribed to the fifth or sixth century."

[2] "Paganæ vero naves . . . . multa mala fecerunt per insulas oceani partibus Aquitaniæ. . . . Castigatio est magna horum (the Northmen) eruptio, antiquis ignota temporibus populo Christiano," writes Alcuin to Arno. Ep. 184 (J. 127). *Cf.* Ep. 16 (J. 22), "talis terror . . . . nec ejusmodi navigium fieri posse putabatur." *Cf.* Einhard, *Vit. Car.*, c. 17.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

should revile the Christians if the name of emperor should die out among them."[1]

Now, too, that the Teutons had become Catholics like those whom they had conquered, they felt with them that the true faith and its head stood in need of an emperor who would really be its defender. They had seen that the emperors at Constantinople affected to be as autocratic in matters of faith as of civil government, and they had seen the head of the Church treated by his servile officials as an outcast. The simmering religious disunion between the real rulers of the West and the emperor at Constantinople, rendered acute by the iconoclastic controversy, deepened their political disunion, and gave strength to the idea that the seat of empire should once again be in the West, or that it, at any rate, should impose the emperor on the world.

Why it took place in 800.

An attempt had already been made under Gregory II. to transfer this idea into the domain of fact. "Understanding the impiety of the emperor, the whole of Italy resolved to elect an emperor itself and to conduct him to Constantinople."[2] It was only the address of the Pope that stopped the execution of this decision. But, in the year 800, it was argued that, as the emperors by the Bosphorus had not become more satisfactory, the time had now come to choose

[1] An old (twelfth century) Northumbrian annalist asserts (an. 800) that the Christians of Jerusalem when they sent Charlemagne the standard, etc. (*cf. Ann. vet. Franc.*, 801), begged him, "ut . . . . contra insurgentes gentes exurgeret bellica virtute et regali majestate"; ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii. p. 156. If of no great historical value, the passage is interesting not only on account of its curious alliteration, but when compared with the contemporary *Ann. vet. Franc.* (an. 801) or *Chron. Moissac, ib.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. 306, which relate that many asked for an emperor, as the ruler at Constantinople was then only an empress, "ne pagani insultarent Christianis, si imperatoris nomen apud Christianos cessasset."

[2] *L. P., in vit. Greg. II.*, n. xvii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

one from the West. The empire on the one hand was practically vacant, for it was out of the question that a woman could be allowed to rule it[1]; and, on the other, the proper person to govern it was ready in the person of the ruler of the West. Charlemagne was the undoubted lord of most of the old seats of empire. It was right that he who had the power of the emperor should have the name.[2] Whatever may have been the Pope's personal views on these contentions before the outbreak of Paschal, the awful peril through which he had then passed made him quite ready after it to subscribe to a scheme which would mean for him more protection even if less liberty.

Preliminary discussion.

Hence, if he was not himself the source whence first sprang the idea of the imperial consecration of Charlemagne, he soon heartily embraced it. To state precisely whence it originated may be impossible; but it would seem that the attempts which have been made to trace it beyond the Pope himself are not very successful. Because, impressed by the power of Charlemagne, the poets of the court have employed the loftiest language when singing

[1] Irene had deposed and blinded her son (August 6, 797), and since then had in fact held the reins of government.

[2] *Ann. Lauresh.*, 801. "Et quia jam tunc cessabat a parte Græcorum nomen imperatoris, ... tunc visum est . . . . Leoni . . . . seu reliquo christiano populo, ut Carolum regem Franchorum imperatorem nominare debuissent, qui ipsam Romam tenebat ubi semper Cæsaras sedere soliti erant, seu reliquas sedes," etc. Ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. *Cf. Chron. Moissac*, ap. *ib.*, p. 305, and the note of the continuer of the chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine. When speaking (p. 37, ap. *L. P.*, i. 322) of the rebellion of the exarch Eleutherius, he says of Rome, "ubi imperii solium maneret." The annals of Northumbria (an. 800, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xiii.) pretend that a party of Greeks came and asked Charlemagne "ut illorum susciperet regnum et imperium." It is not, of course, impossible that a party at Constantinople opposed to Irene may have taken this step, but the evidence is not of a high order.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

his praises,[1] and because Alcuin often before the Christmas Day of 800 calls his kingdom a 'Christian empire,'[2] it has been surmised that projects to have him proclaimed emperor were matters of common discussion among his *entourage*. But, when all legitimate deductions have been drawn from high-flown epithets of poets and from obscure remarks in the generally one-sided correspondence of Alcuin, it can only be said that it is possible that the elevation of Charlemagne was planned by his own advisers.[3] The probability remains that even in such preliminary negotiations as must have taken place—and it would seem that they were of very limited extent—the greatest share was taken by him whose name is directly connected with the imperial coronation by our authorities in every variety of phrase.[4] The unanimity of the proceedings in St. Peter's is enough to show that Leo must have previously conferred with the chief men of the

[1] "Rex Carolus, caput orbis, amor populique decusque,
Europæ venerandus apex, pater optimus, heros
Augustus . . . . . ."
Carmen de Car., ap. *P. L.*, t. 98, p. 1436. *Cf. Carm.* 45, *Ad Car. reg.*, of Alcuin and poems by Theodulf (p. 523), both ap. *M. G. PP.*, i.

[2] Epp. 177 (118), 185 (125), 202 (142).

[3] As far as Alcuin's correspondence is concerned, Gaskoin does not think it can "be inferred, from Alcuin's use of such expressions as *imperiale regnum* (Ep. 121 [78]), that he either expected or desired the elevation of his patron." *Alcuin*, p. 123 n.

[4] With the quotations already cited, comp. *Annal. S. Amand.*, "Leo benedixit eum ad imperium"; *Annal. Juv. Maj.*, "Carolus imperium suscepit Romanum in Roma, et a Leone secundo juniore constitutus imperator." Both ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. Already in 850, when Florus, the deacon of Lyons, wrote his poetical *Querela de div. imp.*, it was held that Charlemagne had received his imperial crown 'by apostolic gift,' and that the empire had the 'key-bearer' of heaven for its founder:

"Hujus ibi (Rome) princeps regni (of Rome) diademata sumpsit
Munere apostolico . . . . . .
Cujus (regni) Roma arx est, et coeli claviger auctor."
Ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 251.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Franks and Romans, and must have secured their adhesion to what he was about to do. But it would seem that the great act under discussion was rather the result of the enthusiastic adoption of a suddenly conceived idea, at once both opportune and splendid, than the consummation of an elaborately prepared plan. "The act is conceived of as directly ordered by the Divine Providence, which has brought about a state of things that admits of but one issue, an issue which king, priest, and people have only to obey."[1]

Charlemagne's unwillingness to receive the imperial crown.

If it can scarcely be doubted that Charlemagne had at least a vague knowledge that there was a movement of some sort on foot to choose him as the successor of the deposed Constantine VI., it is quite certain that he did not contemplate its coming to a head, nor himself entertain the idea of ever assuming the title of emperor. For this there is the irrefragable testimony of Eginhard. "At this time," writes the secretary, "he received the name of Emperor and Augustus. To this he was at first so averse that he declared that, if he could have foreseen the Pope's intention, he would never have entered the church on that day, though it was one of the chiefest festivals of the year."[2] The principal reason for this reluctance on the part of Charlemagne to accept the imperial crown is unfolded for us by the same authority which tells us of this unwillingness. For Eginhard goes on to say: "When he had received the imperial title, he bore with great patience the ill-will

[1] Bryce, *Holy Rom. Emp.*, p. 53. *Cf.* Birot, p. 15. The *Annals of Moissac*, 800, are enough to prove that there was some preliminary discussion.

[2] "Quod (the name of Emperor) primo in tantum aversatus est, ut adfirmaret, se eo die, quamvis præcipua festivitas esset, ecclesiam non intraturum, si pontificis consilium præscire potuisset." C. 28. *Cf. Monach. Sangall.*, i. c. 26. "Nichil minus suspicantem ipsum pronunciavit imperatorem defensoremque ecclesiæ Romanæ."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

displayed towards him by the Roman emperors, who were indignant at what had been done. However, he overcame their irritation[1] by his magnanimity, by which beyond all doubt he was immeasurably their superior, sending them frequent embassies, and, in his letters, calling them brothers."[2] The first attempt he made to allay the vexation which his imperial coronation caused at Constantinople was to apply for the hand, blood-stained though it was, of the Empress Irene. To Constantinople there came "apocrisiarii from Charles and Leo with a request that she might be joined to Charles in wedlock, and that the East and West might be made one."[3] The intrigues of the eunuch Aetius and the subsequent illness and deposition of Irene prevented the accomplishment of a scheme which might have been followed by the happiest of results in the domains both of politics and religion. Charlemagne, however, continued his negotiations with her successors, Nicephorus and Michael II., and was at length, after a display of force, recognised by the latter as 'emperor and basileus' (812).[4] The empire, in theory one and indivisible, was divided between two independent emperors.

[1] The contemptuous manner in which later Greek authors speak of Charlemagne show how enduring was their annoyance. A pamphlet printed by Hergenröther (*Mon. Græca ad Photium pertin.*, Ratisbon, 1869, p. 156) alludes to Pope Leo's summoning from the inner parts of Frankland 'a certain Charles' (Καρούλόν τινα), whom he crowned emperor.

[2] *Ib.* Again *cf. Mon. San.*, *l.c.*, who says that Charlemagne did not receive the empire with pleasure, "eo quod putaret Grecos, majore succensos invidia, aliquid incommodi regno Francorum machinaturos."

[3] Theoph., *in Chron.*, 794. *Cf.* an. 793 and *Ann. Eginhard.*, 802.

[4] *Ann. Eginh.*, 812. *Cf.* Egin., *in vit. Car.*, c. 16. "Cum quibus (Imperatores Constantinopolitani) — tamen propter susceptum a se imperatoris nomen et ob hoc, quasi qui imperium eis eripere vellet, valde suspectum—fœdus firmissimum statuit."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Was Charlemagne averse to the intervention of the Pope?

Arguing from the fact that Charlemagne caused his son, Louis the Pious, to crown himself emperor, or perhaps rather crowned him himself, not a few historians conclude that his aversion arose, to a large extent at least, because the imperial crown was bestowed on him by the Church. Dr. Hodgkin, to quote one who represents the thoughts of many, believes[1] that he "was averse to the title of emperor," perhaps chiefly on account of the "intervention of the Pope. . . . He would have wished it (the imperial crowning) done in some other way by the invitation of his Frankish nobles, by a vote of the shadowy body which called itself the Roman Senate (if such a shadow still haunted the north-west corner of the Forum), by the acclamations of the Roman people, or by all those instrumentalities combined, but not by a touch of the Pontiff's fingers. He foresaw, probably with statesman-like instinct, the mischief which would accrue to future generations from the precedent thus furnished of a Pope appearing by virtue of his ecclesiastical office to bestow the imperial crown." Were this a true presentment of Charlemagne's view of his imperial coronation, it would suppose that he had failed to grasp the most salient feature of life in Europe in the early Middle Ages. It is well nigh impossible to overstate the influence of the Church—of the bishops, and particularly of the Pope—during that epoch on the political affairs of the West.[2] In that age of violence no right could be acquired or held, except by the sword or by the anathema of a bishop. If Charlemagne's father Pippin was only too glad to have his kingly title recognised by Pope Zachary, he himself, it cannot be doubted, was pleased, if he had to receive the imperial title, to have it bestowed by the Pope. Besides, not to mention the

[1] *Italy, etc.*, viii. 202.

[2] *Cf. Della dignità imp. di Carlomag.*, del A. Rolando, Napoli, 1873.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

intervention of the Roman Senate, which at that time was too dead even to have a shadow, it can scarcely be believed that Charlemagne, whose only idea of the 'Roman people' can but have been of men cowering before the Lombards, and trusting to the Pope even for their temporal safety, would have esteemed a request from them to become emperor. As to his 'Frankish nobles,' no ground can be imagined which would give them a colourable title to offer their ruler the imperial dignity. But it was very natural that an invitation should be valued from the Pope who was the acknowledged head of the whole Catholic Church, the recognised lord and saviour of Rome (the first seat of the Roman Empire), and the successor of the one whose sanction had given stability to the Carolingian dynasty. A letter[1] of Charlemagne's great grandson, the emperor Louis II., addressed to the Eastern emperor Basil I., proves indeed how highly the Pope's action was valued. Besides, the whole political career of Charlemagne was coloured by papal intervention, and that, too, of his own seeking. He would have the Pope crown and anoint his sons, subscribe his treaties, and even confirm his will. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that Leo would risk performing an act which, if chiefly because done by him, would irritate his benefactor and protector. One of Charlemagne's most trusted advisers was his cousin Adalhard, abbot of Corbey. He was with him at Rome in 800, and must have known his mind on the papacy. Now of all the Franks he was the most beloved by Leo also.[2] It is surely, then, more

[1] Quoted *infra*, p. 52.

[2] Paschasius, *in vit. Adalh.*, n. 17, ed. *P. L.*, t. 120. "A D. Leone . . . . tanto familiaritatis officio susceptus, ut neminem constiterit Francorum antea suscepisse." Leo used to say that if he had misplaced his faith in trusting him he would never put confidence in another Frank. With his brothers Wala and Bernard he formed, according to the expression of his biographer (*ib.*, c. 32), along with Charlemagne,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

than likely that he consulted with him before he took the momentous step of giving an imperial crown, and must have been convinced that, on whatever other grounds Charlemagne might not wish for it, he would have no objection to receiving it because it came from his hands. And though, in the light of Greek politics, Charlemagne might have preferred that he had never been saluted as emperor, it seems certain that he was far from bearing any ill-will to Leo personally for his share in that transaction. For Alcuin, writing only a few months after it, viz., in April 801, tells us that word had been brought to him from Rome that "the *Apostolicus* was in high favour with the lord emperor."[1]

Motives of Leo's action.

In placing the imperial crown on the head of the Frankish monarch, Leo was animated by motives both personal and political. The cruel attack which had been made upon him rendered him more desirous of increased protection, and he felt that an emperor of the Romans would have more title to interfere on his behalf than would a king of the Franks, though styled Patricius and defender of the Church. A wish for civil as well as religious unity also urged him on. He could not fail to realise the danger to Christian Europe from the Norseman and the Saracen. He knew that before the rise of the power of Charlemagne it was split up into numerous kingdoms, without any bond of unity between them but submission in spiritual matters to the See of Rome. And he understood that if Christendom was to resist the pressure from without, and

the foundation of the empire of the Franks. "Quorum trium imp. Augustus familiari usus consilio, una secum fundabili quadratura Francorum imperium satis admodum dispositum regebat reipublicæ augmentatum."

[1] Ep. 216 (J. 161). "Candidus noster de Roma reversus est . . . . (et) Apostolicum suos superare adversarios referebat et in magna esse gratia cum domino imperatore."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the tendency to disintegration from within, there must be more than spiritual unity amongst its kingdoms. There was need of some material unity. There must be some temporal authority to which all would look up and rally. To a Roman what was more natural than the idea of a revival[1] of the Roman empire,[2] held then to be theoretically vacant by the deposition of Constantine VI., and known to have been practically dead even in Italy, much less in the rest of Europe, since the descent of the Lombards (568).

It was not an act of rebellion.

Those authors, then, who would have us regard this 'renovation of the Roman empire' as an act of rebellion against the emperors of Constantinople, ask far too much of our common-sense. The authority of Byzantium in Europe at this time was simply derelict. What is derelict belongs to the first hand that can hold it. But if it be asked what special right the Pope had to revive the empire, it may be answered that he had at least as much right as the men who made the imperial power in the first instance —Julius Cæsar and Augustus. And in times of difficulty and danger, when there is need of ability and willingness to ward off impending disaster, any man has the natural right, if he has the power, to seize the helm and save himself and others. Besides, what more natural than that the acknowledged Head of the Church should seek to provide even for the temporal welfare of his flock? Was he not, too,

[1] A leaden seal, preserved at Paris, proclaims in its silent way that it was a 'revival' and not a new creation of empire that was intended. The reverse presents an armed bust of Charlemagne, with the inscription, D. N. KAR. IMP. PP. PP. AUG.; the obverse a city gate surmounted by a cross and flanked by two towers, with the word ROMA below it, and the inscription, RENOVATIO ROMAN IMP.

[2] Which, wrote Jornandes, in the sixth century, once held subject the whole world "et hactenus vel *imaginarie* teneat." Ap. *R. I. S.*, i., pt. i., p. 222.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

lord of Rome and, as the heir of its preservers, the natural guardian of its rights?[1]

It is sufficiently obvious that Leo could not have re-established the authority of the Eastern emperors in Europe, had he wished to do so. And certainly he had no reason to entertain any such wish. They had proved themselves unable to save the West from the barbarians, and anything but the defenders of the Church. The Pope, then, with sense chose as emperor one who had the power to save Europe from the heathen and the will to defend the Church. The power of Charlemagne is acknowledged by friend and foe alike; his goodwill to defend the Church is proclaimed by himself. In the preface to his "Admonitio generalis," among his *Capitularies*, or legal pronouncements, he styles himself: "By the grace and mercy of God, king and ruler of the kingdom of the Franks, and of Holy Church the devout defender and humble helper."[2] And in the heading of the first capitulary, he declares, according to one reading at least, that he is "in all things[3] the adjutant of the Apostolic See." As he called himself, so was he addressed by others. The bishops assembled at the Council of Mayence (813)

[1] Quite in harmony with this is the judgment of Professor Bury: "As the virtual sovereign, then, of Italy, as far as it was Roman—for even in the days of the exarchs he had often been its sovereign far more truly than the exarch or the emperor—and as the bearer of the idea of the Roman empire with all its traditions of civilisation, the Pope had the right, by the standard of justice, to transfer the representation of the ideas whereof he was the keeper to one who was able to realise them." *Hist. of the Later Rom. Emp.*, ii. pp. 508–9. He had previously observed: "If it (the election of an emperor) was not legally defensible, it was as thoroughly justifiable by the actual history of the two preceding centuries as it has been justified by the history of the ten succeeding centuries."

[2] "Ego Carolus gratia Dei ejusque misericordia donante, Rex et rector regni Francorum et devotus S. ecclesiæ defensor humilisque adjutor." (*Præfat. Capit.*, 22, ap. Boretius, i. p. 52.)

[3] *Ib.*, p. 44.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

addressed him as "the most[1] Christian emperor, the rector of the true religion and the defender of the Holy Church of God." Even at the risk of being tedious, we will add to the evidence already cited of Charlemagne's position in regard to the Church an extract from an introduction to a MS. of the laws of the Lombard king Rotharis, preserved in the library of the dukes of Gotha. "As he (Charlemagne) was worthy of the empire's honour, he obtained the imperial crown; he received all the dignities of the Roman power; he was made the most dutiful son of Lord Peter, the Apostle, and he defended *Peter's property* from his foes."[2]

The famous letter of Louis II. to Basil.

If it be imagined that too much has been assumed in supposing that it was chiefly the Pope's act which revived the empire in the West, we have not only the word[3] of

[1] Labbe, vii. 1240.

[2] *M. G. SS. Langob.*, p. 10; Dr. Hodgkin's translation, *Italy, etc.*, v. 149. This passage indicates clearly enough that, though Charlemagne was meant by Leo to be the successor of Augustus, of Constantine the Great, and of Justinian, it was not intended that he should be the heir of all the power assumed by those rulers in Church and State alike. Leo designed him to be, not the Church's master, but her 'dutiful son.' The centre round which the minds of men were to move was not to be this world, the empire, Cæsar—but heaven, the Church, and the Pope. *Cf.* Balan, *Storia d'Italia*, ii. 220 ff.

[3] In a brief in behalf of the monastery at Centula, the Pope speaks of Charlemagne, "whom we, moved by God, have this day consecrated Augustus for the defence and promotion of the Holy Universal Church," ap. Jaffé, ad an. 800. It is only fair to note that some consider this charter spurious. Gregorovius shows himself very anxious to establish the idea that the 'Roman people' had an effective share, perhaps equal to that of the Pope, in this renovation of empire. But the fact is they had no more say in the matter than they had in the making of the first Roman emperors. They made themselves *despite* the Roman people, and the Pope instituted the Carolingian emperors *without* them. And when he asserts (*Rome*, ii. p. 499) "a decree of election of the Roman nobility and people had undoubtedly preceded the coronation," he has only his own ideas of what he thinks 'ought to have taken place' to fall back upon. Charlemagne had not an atom of respect for the 'Roman people.'

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Pope himself that such was in fact the case, but the authoritative declaration of an emperor. The emperor of Constantinople, Basil I., wrote to the emperor Louis II. (†875) to complain of his taking the title of emperor, which belonged to him alone. In his reply, Louis points out that, with the exception of Basil, he is recognised as emperor by all Christian kings; for they look "to the anointing and consecration by which, by means of the imposition of the hands of the supreme Pontiff and by prayer, we have been, by the will of heaven, advanced to this high position, and to the empire of the Roman principate, which we hold by God's will. . . . Your beloved fraternity further writes that you are astonished that we are called emperor of the Romans, and not emperor of the Franks. But you must understand that if we are not *emperor* of the Romans, we cannot be emperor of the Franks. For as among the Romans this sublime appellation first arose, we have assumed it from those whose city we have received from heaven to govern, as we have received in like manner the mother of all the churches of God to defend and advance. From this mother our race received in the first instance the authority of kings (he refers to the action of Pope Zachary), and then that of emperors. For the princes of the Franks were first called kings; and then those were called *emperors* who were for this end (*ad hoc*) anointed by the Roman Pontiff with the holy oil. Charles the Great, my great-great-grandfather, anointed by the supreme Pontiff, was the first of our race to be called emperor, and to be made the anointed of the Lord. And if," continues Louis, "you rail against the Pope for his action, you have as much reason to rail against Samuel for passing over Saul, whom he had himself anointed, and for anointing David king." The Western then reminds the Eastern emperor of the way in which the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

popes had been left defenceless against their enemies by the rulers of Constantinople, and, what was worse, had been through them assailed by heresies. Hence, naturally, the popes turned their backs on the apostates, and embraced the Franks.[1]

Results of Leo's action.

The outcome of Leo's act (and the letter of the emperor Louis shows how truly it *was* the Pope's act), while it did not in any way interfere with the power, or real rights, of the Eastern emperors, increased that of Charlemagne at least indirectly. Though it did not add to his dominions by one rood of land, it gave him a solid increase of authority by the way in which it caused him to be looked up to as well by his own subjects as by other Christian peoples and kings.[2] For there was such a charm about the name of emperor, that even the very barbarian rulers who had destroyed in the West the power of the emperors, kept a sort of covert respect for them, and sometimes even accepted from the emperors of Constantinople the title of *patricius*. But the result of Leo's work on the Christmas Day of 800 was not confined to the reign of Charlemagne. It endured in appearance till the August of 1806, when the emperor Francis II. renounced the imperial crown, and thereby brought "the oldest political institution in the world[3] . . . . to an end." It existed practically till the days of the emperor Charles V., who was the last of the emperors crowned by the Pope.

As a last word on this subject we will point out that the union of Church and State, brought about by the renovation of the empire, was in the main productive of

[1] This letter, from the *Chronicle of Salerno*, is to be found ap. *R. I. S.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 243. Kleinclausz has made a vain attempt to upset the authenticity of this letter.

[2] *Cf.* Einhard, *in vit. Car.*, c. 16. The emperor was publicly prayed for in the services of the Church.

[3] Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 1.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

good.[1] It is true that, with the advance of time, great struggles arose between the papacy and the empire. From the nature of things it was inevitable that difficulties should arise. If the Church is not infallible in its temporal policy, no more, perhaps still less, is the State. And as it is impossible in some cases to fix the exact boundaries of the proper spheres of action of the Church on the one hand and the State on the other, it is only to be expected that, when both are full of life, friction must arise. In a man of energy, especially when plunged in the midst of the affairs of life, there is an endless struggle going on between the powers of his body and those of his soul. It does not, however, follow that the union of body and soul is not in itself good. Similarly the struggles, sometimes fierce enough, between the popes and the emperors do not prove that the institution of the empire was not to the great advantage of Europe generally.

There can indeed be no doubt that the grand idea of one Church and one State acting in harmony, with which the act of Leo inspired the minds of the men of the West, was productive of great good. Wild and rough as were but too many of the leaders of men in Western Europe in the early Middle Ages, they conceived the thought, so important for the development of European civilisation, that they were all members of one great Christian family. It was this idea that made united action possible in Europe, that hurled the warriors of the West against the Moslem, who, like the locust; can but devour all that is good as he moves along. It was this thought, this habit of looking up with respect to a common head, not merely at Rome, but also, though to a much less degree, at Aachen, or wherever else the seat of empire might be, which so

[1] *Cf.* Dr. Hodgkin, in his eminently readable and accurate *Charles the Great* (p. 249).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

frequently averted the horrors of war at a time when men seemed to think they were born to fight. It was this feeling of the brotherhood of peoples which promoted an intercourse among the men of the West, greatly, of course, to their mutual benefit, to which nothing in our times can compare. Where there was much to be learned, or where there was much to do, thither, heedless whether to London, to Paris, or to Rome, went the workers or the seekers after truth. And gladly were they welcomed. For they were received without that miserable jealousy and suspicion which modern ideas of nationality have engendered—ideas which make many men act at least as though they believed that the be-all and end-all of everything was nationality. One Church, one empire was a clear, noble, and grand central idea to which others, at once beautiful and practical, could aggregate. Out of reflection of this kind arose the remark of Gregorovius: "All the life of nations became henceforward bound together in a great concentric system of Church and empire, and out of this system sprang the common civilisation of the West."[1]

Who had supreme power in Rome?

Among the results of Leo's crowning Charlemagne was *not* that he gave up all his sovereign rights in Rome. He no more ceased to be its ruler than did the king of Bavaria lose all his regal power over Bavaria on the proclamation of William, King of Prussia, as Emperor of Germany, in 1871. No doubt, as emperor, Charlemagne would have more rights than those of a simple patricius; he would stand to the Pope in much the same position as our sovereign does to the independent princes of our Indian empire.[2] Hence in his letters to the emperor, Leo does

[1] *Rome*, ii. 508 f. *Cf.* Davis, *Charlemagne*, p. 14 f., 210 f., and Solmi, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 15. Of this last work see a full and able criticism in the *Rev. d'hist. eccles.*, July 1904, p. 573 ff.

[2] And so, as my friend Mr. Urquhart has pointed out to me, the popes regarded the emperors not only as 'brothers and sons,' but as

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

not fail to make it clear that Charlemagne is his defender, but not in all things his master. Writing[1] on one occasion to complain of the doings of some of the emperor's 'missi,' he asks that "the oblation which your ancestors and you yourself have offered to Blessed Peter may remain acceptable in his sight, so that you may deserve to receive a suitable reward from the keybearer of the kingdom of heaven, who has constituted you his defenders in his interests." Further, whilst consenting to work along with the emperor in taking defensive measures on the coasts against the Saracens and Northmen, whose sea power was now making itself felt, Leo's very words[2] show that there were coasts that belonged to him as well as to the emperor. And if the emperor's *missi*, who came to assist in the administration of justice, interfered with the Pope's arrangements, Leo did not hesitate to ask the emperor indignantly if it was by his orders that his *missi* hampered, to the great detriment of the papal exchequer,[3] the administrative rights of the *duces* whom he had appointed over

their 'overlords' in temporals under certain circumstances. They were the *lords* of the popes as the German emperor is now the *lord* of the German Princes. S. Gregory VII. calls Henry IV. "*dominum* fratrem et filium." Jaffé, *Reg.*, iii. 7.

[1] Ep. 9, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 9, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Carol.* "Qui (b. Petrus) vos in suis utilitatibus defensores constituit." This letter perhaps belongs to the year 807. *Cf.* Ep. 1, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., and ap. Jaffé, *ib.*, 1, where Leo tells Charlemagne that he will receive his son Pippin in a way that will become "the son of so great a *defender* of the Holy Church of God."

[2] "Ut litoraria *nostra* ac *vestra* ab infestatione paganorum . . . . tuta reddantur . . . . nos . . . . studium ponimus." Ep. 1, *ubi sup.* *Cf.* Ep. 6, *ib.*, where, after narrating to the emperor the ravages of the Moors on the islands of Ponza and Ischia, etc., the Pope adds: "De *nostris* autem terminibus insinuamus vestræ imp. potentiæ: quia per intercessionem B. V. M. . . . et per vestram prudentissimam ordinationem omnia salva existunt. A quo enim de illorum adventu vestra nos exhortavit serenitas, semper *postera et litoraria nostra* ordinata habuimus."

[3] Ep. 2, ap. *M. G. SS.*, v., or ap. Jaffé.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the different cities. It may be noted here that these *missi* were in the nature of itinerant judges, whose business it was to see that the local authorities in the different towns did their duty. Cenni,[1] in his notes to this letter, quotes the famous constitution of the emperor Lothaire, drawn up in the time of Eugenius II. (824–827), to the effect that it was the emperor's will that *missi* should be appointed by the Pope and himself, who should each year report how the different dukes and judges administered justice. Complaints were in the first instance to be referred to the Pope, as to the ordinary and immediate authority, who should himself cause them to be satisfied; or, if he preferred it, they were to be referred to the emperor to be dealt with.[2] The idea of Leo was that the emperors were to administer justice within the dominions of the Pope when invited by him so to do, though not whenever they chose to do so on their own initiative; but that in grave temporal difficulties they should constitute the ultimate court of appeal. Living at a distance and interfering only occasionally in the papal government, they were nevertheless to be always in the background, as it were, and to serve as a continual warning and menace to the turbulent nobility. While the emperor had no little ecclesiastical authority, and the Pope still more temporal power, each was to be independent in his own sphere. The scheme was, certainly, an admirable one for securing the independence of the papacy.[3]

We may now return to the history of the course of events. Charlemagne stays in Rome till Easter, 801.

[1] *P. L.*, t. 98, p. 532.

[2] *Constit. Loth.*, c. 4, ap. Boretius, *Capit.*, i. 323.

[3] *Cf.* a very lucid article, *Del Sacro Romano impero*, by E. Santini, in a volume addressed to Leo XIII. on the occasion of his episcopal jubilee. Siena, 1893. The above paragraph in the text has been compiled in accordance with some admirable suggestions I received from Mr. Urquhart.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Charlemagne passed the winter in Rome, occupied not only with the trial and punishment of the Pope's enemies, but with the affairs, public and private, ecclesiastical and civil, of Rome and the whole of Italy. After despatching an army under his son Pippin, the king of Italy, against the Duke of Beneventum, who was too independent to suit the new emperor, that prince left Rome after Easter (April 25) and set out for the North.[1]

Charlemagne to marry Irene.

Whilst Einhard in his annals[2] relates that in the following year negotiations were entered into between the Eastern court and Charlemagne, Theophanes[3] adds that to the emperor's ambassadors were added those of the Pope, and that, besides confirming peace between the two sovereigns, the ambassadors had in view the bringing about a marriage between the empress Irene and their master. If their mission had been successful, it would have put an easy end to the soreness felt by the East at the creation of a Western emperor. The plan, whether originating from the Pope or from Charlemagne himself, was a good one. But it miscarried, and that through the interested advice of one of Irene's ministers. Well would it have been for Irene if she had accepted the proffered hand of the mighty Frank. For, on October 31 of this very year, she lost her throne, and found herself banished to the Isle of Lesbos by the usurper Nicephorus, who had formerly been the Treasurer (*Logothete*). Thus passed from the stage of the world's history a princess whose beauty, abilities, and even virtues, were brought into more striking prominence by her later crimes. Charlemagne's ambassadors were graciously heard by Nicephorus, who sent back legates of his own with them both to the emperor and

[1] Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 801.
[2] *Ib.*, ad an. 802.
[3] Theoph., *in Chron.*, ad an. 793, 794, and *Hist. Miscella*, l. 23.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Pope, and concluded at least a preliminary treaty of peace.[1]

Leo III. again visits Charlemagne, 804.

In the following year the North of Italy was agitated by the story that there had been found in Mantua a sponge that had been dipped in the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ and carried thither by Longinus. In the summer (803), news of this so-called discovery was brought to Charlemagne, who at once begged the Pope to inquire into the truth of the affair. Leo took advantage of this request[2] of the emperor to go still further north and pay Charlemagne a second visit,[3] as well for his love of the emperor as for the needs of the Church. Charlemagne was at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) when word was brought to him, about the middle of November, that the Pope wished to keep the feast of Christmas with him. At once the young prince Charles was sent forward to meet the Pope at St. Maurice in Valais. He himself received the Pope in the old basilica of St. Remy at Rheims, and then went with him to Quiercy—a place already so famous in the history of the relations between the popes and the Carolingians—where they kept the feast of Christmas. Here, and at Aachen, they were together for eight days. Unfortunately we are left utterly in the dark as to what matters were discussed between them. Gregorovius,[4] however, who is here cited

[1] Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 803. *Cf. supra*, p. 45.

[2] *Ib.*, ad an. 804. "Causa adventus ejus (Leonis) hæc erat. Perlatum est ad imperatorem æstate præterita, Christi sanguinem in Mantua civitate fuisse repertum, propter hoc misit ad Papam, petens ut hujus famæ veritatem inquireret," etc.

[3] Poeta Saxo (ap. *M. G. SS.* 1, or Jaffé, *Mon. Carol.*) says (ad an. 804) that the Pope left Rome:

"Augusti Leo flagranti deductus amore
Aecclesiæ quoque pro causis, quibus imperiali
Esse videbat opus munimine, rursus adire
Francorum terras."

[4] *Rome*, iii. 13, 14. Fleury, *Hist. eccles.*, l. xlv. n. 27, conjectures with *at least* as much reason that Leo wished to consult the emperor on the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

merely as a type of a certain class of historians, is not without sources of private information. Leo had come for more land. But he did not obtain "all his desires, for the dispute concerning the frontiers of his property, or those between imperial supremacy and the papal territorial power, remained to be the subject of lasting dissensions, while the exorbitant demands of St. Peter awoke the indignation of the youthful Pippin," etc. With such pure imaginings certain modern authors are literally crammed. What lover of truth would not almost prefer the bare list of dry facts, given by many of the early chroniclers of the Middle Ages, to this? On his return journey the emperor caused the Pope to be escorted to Ravenna through Bavaria, a country which he wished to see. He reached Rome loaded with presents.[1]

Charlemagne divides his empire by will, 806.

The great emperor, feeling that the allotted span of human life, the threescore years and ten, was drawing on apace for him (he was now sixty-four), and thinking that the best way to avoid disputes arising between his three sons after his death was to let them know during his life what portion of his great empire would fall to each one of them, and to have this division previously well ratified, assembled the great ones of his realm at Thionville (806). Before this gathering he announced his intention of dividing his empire between his three sons, Louis, Charles, and Pippin. This policy of endless subdivision[2] of territory was

affairs of Venice and of Fortunatus of Grado. Balbo and Balan (*Storia d'Ital.*, ii. 238) hold with greater probability that Charlemagne had invited the Pope to come and discuss with him the important question of the division of his empire.

[1] Eginhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 804. *Cf.* Poeta Saxo, who writes that the gifts were worthy of the giver and the taker—the most illustrious bishop and sovereign of the time.

"Hic cum pontificum clarissimus, illeque regum
Temporis illius, nullo dubitante fuissent."

[2] Just as detrimentally as the equal distribution of property acts on France at this day.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to prove fatal not only to the Carolingian empire itself, but to the prosperity of Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries. There is no call here to give the terms of the will[1] which Charlemagne read up before his nobles, especially as it never took effect, for both Charles and Pippin died before their father. But in assigning his dominions to Pippin, Italy was declared his "up to the boundaries of St. Peter" —a fact which shows plainly enough that Charlemagne did not consider the dominions of the Pope to be at the disposal of the emperor. And the three brothers were exhorted to be in earnest about the defence of the Church of St. Peter in the first place, and then of the other churches. They had to defend the former from its enemies, and, as far as they could and as was reasonable, to strive that it obtained its rights. After the nobles had sworn to adhere to the clauses of the will, Einhard himself, who gives[2] us this information, took it to Rome to receive the signature of the Pope. If there is one thing that the conduct of Charlemagne towards the popes teaches, it is that he placed in everything the utmost reliance on the moral support to be derived from the concurrence of the

[1] The text of it may be read in the *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, ed. Boretius, i. 126 f., etc. A full analysis of it may be read in Père Daniel's *Hist. de France*, i. p. 484 f. The 'Italy' which he leaves to Pippin he is careful to define as 'Lombardy.' "Italiam, vero, *quæ et Langobardia* dicitur . . . . Pippino dilecto filio nostro"; and later on, when making another division, on the supposition that Pippin were to die before the other two, Charles has to have Italy "usque ad terminos S. Petri." The exact words of the will with regard to the relations of his sons to the popes are of the last importance. "*Super omnia* autem jubemus, ut ipsi tres *fratres* curam et *defensionem* ecclesiæ S. Petri simul suscipiant, sicut quondam ab avo nostro Carolo et b. mem. genitore Pipino Rege, et a nobis postea suscepta est; ut eam cum Dei adjutorio ab hostibus defendere nitantur, et justitiam suam quantum ad ipsos pertinet et ratio postulaverit habere faciant."

[2] "Quibus pontifex lectis, et adsensum præbuit, et propria manu subscripsit." Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 806.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Church. The assent of Leo to the will was given in due course.

'The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle on 'Filioque,' 809.

Among the honours which his deserved reputation had won for Charlemagne was the concession[1] to him of a sort of honorary suzerainty over the city of Jerusalem, especially over the Holy Places, by the great Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid. This suzerainty involved him as well as the Pope in discussions on the 'Procession of the Holy Ghost.' On this most abstruse question the doctrine of the Catholic Church is that the Holy Ghost proceeds, or has His origin, from the Father and the Son as from one principle, and that as the Son comes from the Father by *generation* and is His Word, the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by *spiration*, and is, as it were, the outcome of their mutual love. To express this doctrine more clearly, there sprang up, it seems, in Spain, a custom of singing the Creed of Nice with the addition of the words, 'Filioque.' The Holy Ghost was thereby definitely stated to have proceeded from the Father 'and the Son—qui ex Patre Filioque procedit.' For it was in Spain that the orthodox doctrine was first proclaimed[2] in a profession of faith. This was at a Council held probably at Toledo, in 447, against the Priscillianists. When the Arian Visigoths were converted under King Reccared, it was again declared[3] at the Third Council of Toledo, in 589, that the Holy Ghost proceeds 'from the Father and from the Son.' This custom, then, begun in Spain some time between 447 and the time of Felix of Urgel, passed into France, then into Germany, and last of all into Italy. On this doctrine, the teaching of the early Greek[4] Fathers was at one with that of the

[1] Einhard, *in vit. Car.*, n. 16; *Annal. Moissac*, ad an. 801.

[2] Hefele, *Hist. Conc.*, ii. p. 495 (Fr. ed.). [3] *Ib.*, iii. p. 589.

[4] For various testimonies from SS. Basil, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, etc., *cf.* Hurter, *Theol. Dogmat. Compend.*, ii. §§ 198–202. The difference between the doctrine of the Greeks and the Latins on

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Latin Fathers. But as they often simply said that He proceeded from the Father, and sometimes that He 'was sent through the Son,' some of the Greeks began to imagine that the addition of the 'Filioque' implied some false doctrine. Hence the question of the 'procession' of the Holy Ghost was discussed at the Council of Gentilly (767). and in the Caroline Books. And when certain Latin monks in Palestine began to use the Filioque, they were accused by their neighbours of heresy. The letter in which they make known their difficulties to the Pope is still extant,[1] and is very interesting. It is addressed: "To the most holy and reverend Lord in Christ, Father Leo, the first Bishop and universal Pope of the Holy Apostolic City of Rome, the congregation of the Mount of Olives." It then begins as follows: "Our Lord has deigned to exalt you, Father, over all bishops, and your holy See over all Christian Sees. For with His own lips did Christ condescend to say, 'Thou art Peter, etc.' (Matt. xvi. 18). Most kind father, we who are strangers in this holy city of Jerusalem, love no man on earth more than you, and day and night pray for you. Hence to you do we make known the troubles we are here enduring." They go on to state that John, a monk of the laura of S. Sabas, near Jerusalem, called them and all the Franks heretics. In defence, the Franks replied that if they were called heretics, it would be necessary to charge the apostolic See with heresy.[2] John then had recourse to deeds; and on Christmas Day (808) sent some laymen "to pitch them

this difficult question is admirably set forth in Brehier, *Le schisme Orient. du XI^e Siècle*, p. 129 ff. *Cf.* Vincenzi, *De process. Spiritus S.*, Rome, 1878. Neale's *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, Dissert. iii., p. 1095 ff., gives the Orthodox Greek point of view.

[1] Jaffé, *Mon. Carol.*, p. 382.

[2] *Ib.* "Frater, sile. Quodsi nos dicis hæreticos, de sede S. apostolica dicis hæresim." . . . . "Non enim potuerunt nos foras ejicere."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

out" (as the letter phrases it) of the Church built over the cave at Bethlehem where Our Lord was born. But the sturdy Franks were not easy to eject. And they proudly inform the Pope: "They could not put us forth. We all said," they continue, "here we wish to die; and you shall not cast us out." They piously attribute their power of resistance to extra strength which the Pope's prayers and faith had obtained for them. They then, they say, appealed to the clergy of the city. A public meeting was held in the neighbourhood of Mount Calvary. Interrogated as to their faith, they declared that it was the same as that of the Roman Church, but pointed out that they were in the habit of using certain expressions in their prayers that the Greeks were not. "In the 'Glory be to the Father,'" urged the Frank monks, "you do not say 'as it was in the beginning'; in the 'Gloria in excelsis' you do not say 'tu solus altissimus'; you say the 'Our Father' differently to us; and in the Creed we say more than you, we add, 'who proceeds from the Father and the Son.'" They (the Franks) then begged the people not to listen to the monk John; and reminded them that if they called the Frankish monks heretics, it would be to accuse of heresy the throne of Peter. "If you do that you[1] will sin." "And now, our most kind Father, deign to think of us your servants, who though so far away, are your sheep. To you,[2] as your holiness knows, the whole world

[1] *Ib.* "Quodsi nos dicitis hæreticos, de throno Petri dicitis hæresim. Et si hoc dicitis, peccatum inducitis super vos."

[2] *Ib.* "Et tibi commissus est omnis mundus, sicut vestra sanctitas scit; sicut ait Dominus Petro: 'Si diligis me, Petre, pasce oves meas.'" We may remark here, by the way, that when any ancient writers attribute the right to rule the whole Christian world to the bishop of Rome, it is not to any of the thousand and one reasons which some authors have invented to account for the position of the Pope that they appeal in support of their assertion, but simply to the words of Our Lord to the first Pope, St. Peter.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

has been entrusted; inasmuch as the Lord said to Peter, 'If you love me, feed my sheep' (S. John, xxi. 17). They then go on to inform the Pope that they had heard the words, 'who proceeds from the Father and the Son,' sung in the chapel of 'the emperor (Charlemagne) your son'; and that in the homily of St. Gregory and the Rule of St. Benedict, which the same emperor had given them, the same words also occurred. But the monk John had caused them much trouble by asserting that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Father and the Son. In conclusion they earnestly beg the Pope to look into the matter of the 'procession of the Holy Ghost,' to call to the mind of the emperor that they had heard the words, 'who proceeds, etc.,' in his chapel, and to let them know the result."

Of this matter Leo at once informed[1] Charlemagne (809), sending him the letter he had just received. He at the same time sent to the monks of Mount Olivet "a creed[2] of the orthodox faith, that all might preserve it true and intact, in accordance with this our Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."

In consequence of this letter of the Pope, Charlemagne convened an assembly of bishops in November 809, at Aix-la-Chapelle, 809. Council of

[1] Ep. ad Car., *Mon. Carol.*, Jaffé, p. 386.

[2] *Ib.* "Nos symbolum . . . . illis misimus, quatenus omnes secundum hanc nostram Cath. et Apost. eccles. rectam et inviolatam teneant fidem." The Creed of Leo is printed in Baluze, *Miscell.*, vii. *init.*, and in Migne, *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 1260. It is addressed "to all the Oriental Churches," that, "all the *world* may hold the faith inviolate according to the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church." "Leo episcopus servus servorum Dei omnibus orientalibus Ecclesiis. Hoc symbolum orthodoxæ fidei vobis mittimus ut tam vos quam omnis mundus secundum Romanam S. Cath. et Apost. Eccles. rectam et inviolatam teneatis fidem." What that faith was with regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost, he makes quite clear. "Credimus . . . . Spiritum S. a Patre et a Filio æqualiter procedentem, consubstantialem, coæternum Patri et Filio."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Aachen. The Council proclaimed[1] the orthodox doctrine in regard to the procession of the Holy Ghost, and seems to have sanctioned the continued use of the 'Filioque' in the Creed. For the sake[2] of having the matter settled, Charlemagne sent to the Pope an embassy composed of a bishop and an abbot.

Conference at Rome, 810.

Early in the year 810, the Pope held a conference with the legates of the emperor in the sacristy (*secretarium*) of St. Peter's. When various 'testimonies'[3] had been read, he declared that his belief was in accordance with the authors quoted, and with the passages of the sacred Scriptures adduced, and that he forbade anyone to teach or hold any doctrine opposed to that of the Council at Aachen. The testimonies here spoken of were doubtless extracts from the works of Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, and Smaragdus, abbot of St. Michel (now St. Mihiel), near Verdun. It is from one of his letters to Charlemagne—to which such acts as we have of the Roman synod were appended—that we know what went on in Rome between the Pope and the emperor's legates. In his work Smaragdus had made it his chief object to collect the passages of Scripture that bear directly or indirectly on this subject of the procession of the Holy Ghost; while Theodulphus aimed at collecting texts from the Greek, and especially from the Popes and the Latin Fathers. After the declaration of the Pope above rehearsed, an informal discussion took place, which the abbot Smaragdus, who

[1] Hefele, *Hist. Conc.*, v. p. 174 (Fr. ed.).

[2] "Cujus (quæstio de process. S. S.) definiendæ causa Bernharius, etc., Romam ad Leonem papam missi sunt." Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 809.

[3] "Lectis a prædictis Missis testimoniis . . . . ait (Leo), ita teneo cum his auctoribus et S. Scripturæ auctoritatibus. Si quis aliter de hac re sentire vel docere voluerit, defendo," etc. *Cf. Smarag. lib.*, ap. Mansi, *Conc.*, xiv. p. 18 seq., or any other of the great editions of the Councils, *e.g.* Labbe, vii. 1194.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

was himself present, says he could not undertake to write down (clearly). By degrees the discussion took a more formal character, of which the worthy abbot has left us a most interesting summary. Of course, it was at once quite plain to the envoys that there was no difference in point of faith between the Pope and themselves. But they naturally wished to get their custom of singing the Creed, with the 'Filioque' addition, recognised by the Pope. Hence they argued that since it was true that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, that truth ought to be taught. To this Leo agreed. Why not then teach the truth by singing? Teaching by singing, replied the Pope, is a good method, but it is not good to insert words where one has no right. The envoys admitted that they were aware that the Fathers of the different œcumenical councils had forbidden additions to be made to the Creed, but they asked whether it would not be lawful to sing the 'Filioque,' if they (the Councils) had inserted it. It would, assented the Pope. Would not the Fathers of the General Councils have done *well* if they had inserted such an important addition, persisted the envoys? No doubt, was the answer; but as they did not insert it, they had very good reasons for their omission of the addition. Before night put an end to the discussion, the Pope pointed out that it was impossible to put all the articles of faith into the Creed.

When the conference was reopened next day, the envoys urged that the 'Filioque' had been added solely with the laudable object of instructing the people on a most important point of doctrine. Whereupon Leo reminded them that after the Fathers of the different Councils had forbidden people to tamper with the Creed on their own authority, it made no matter with what intention they acted when they violated the decrees of the Fathers. But

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

have you not yourself given leave for the singing of the Creed, put in the envoys? The Pope allowed that he had *permitted* the singing of the Creed, but not with the addition, told them they had better follow the custom of the Roman Church, and asked what it was to him (*Quid ad nos*) that the Franks could urge that they had not originated the custom. The irrepressible Franks now adduced their final argument, and acutely insisted that to drop the 'Filioque' would be to cause the people to think that it was not true that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and from the Son. Could the Pope tell them what was best to be done, therefore, under the circumstances? "Had I been asked," retorted the Pope, "before the custom of singing the Creed in your manner began, I should have told you not to make the insertion." As it was, he advised,[1] not commanded, that, on the ground that it was not sung in the Church of Rome, their custom of singing the Creed should be gradually abandoned. Then what had been established rather from love of novelty than by authority would be gradually abandoned by all. An unlawful custom would thus come to an end and nobody's faith would be injured.

Whether or not the Pope's wise advice was followed in the Royal chapel we do not know; but the custom of the West was not abandoned. Had his prudent counsels, however, been followed, much difficulty would have been avoided. When in the days to come the Greeks sought an occasion to quarrel with the Western Church, their only tangible argument (the Filioque) would not have been forthcoming. Meanwhile, to show 'his love for the orthodox faith,' says his biographer, Leo caused two shields

[1] "At nunc (quod tamen non *affirmando*, sed vobiscum pariter tractando dico) . . . . ut paulatim in palatio (quia in nostra S. Ecclesia non cantatur) cantandi consuetudo ejusdem symboli intermittatur."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of silver, weighing 94 lbs. 6 ozs., to be cast. On one of them, in Greek, and on the other, in Latin, he caused the Creed to be inscribed without the 'Filioque.' This he did to afford a standing proof that the Roman Church preserved the Creed as it had come down to her. These shields Leo hung up, one on the right and the other on the left of the confession of St. Peter, and as late as the eleventh century they were seen by St. Peter Damian.[1] He put up a corresponding one in the confession of St. Paul.[2]

Felix of Urgel. Council at Rome, 799.

Of the joint efforts of Charlemagne and Pope Leo III. for the refutation of Adoptionism, and of the Council held at Rome against its able advocate, Felix of Urgel, in 799, mention has already been made under Pope Hadrian I. Their mutual relations with Fortunatus of Grado may well engage our attention now.

Fortunatus, patriarch of Grado.

On the authority of the *Annals of Venice*,[3] Muratori[4] informs us that to the bishopric of Olivola Castello, an island that now forms part of Venice, there was elected a Greek of the name of Christophorus, at the instance of the Greek emperor Nicephorus and by the influence of John, the Doge of Venice. But the tribunes of Venice, who did not approve of this Greek interference, begged the patriarch of Grado, also named John, not to consecrate Christophorus. John yielded to their wishes, and even excommunicated the bishop-elect. Furious at this, the Doge sailed over to Grado and had the refractory prelate hurled from the top of a high tower. The tribunes, however, contrived to bring about the election of Fortunatus of Triest, a relation of the murdered patriarch, to the vacant See of Grado. The Pope approved the choice, and

[1] Opusc. 38, c. 2, ap. *P. L.*, t. 145.

[2] *L. P.*, n. lxxxv. *Cf.* Photius, ep. i. 24, who tells of Leo inscribing *their* undefiled faith on certain shields.

[3] Ap. *M. G. SS.*, vii.

[4] *Annal.*, ad an. 802.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sent Fortunatus the pallium[1] (March 21, 803). The treatment that had been meted out to his predecessor and relative led Fortunatus to conspire with some of the chief men in the State against the Doge. The plot was discovered, and Fortunatus fled for his life to Charlemagne. He found the emperor at Saltz (Koenigshofen), presented him[2] with some beautiful gifts and implored his assistance. This Charlemagne granted, and even took him into favour and wrote to the Pope to ask him to allow the exiled patriarch to have the then vacant See of Pola, as "he did not[3] wish to appoint him anywhere without consulting with the Pope." The Pope consented (806), on condition that, if his See of Grado were restored to Fortunatus, he was to leave the See of Pola in every way intact just as he found it.[4] But in a postscript to the letter he wrote to Charlemagne on this matter, the Pope asked him to use his influence with Fortunatus for the good of the latter's soul, as he had not heard good reports of him, either whilst he was in Italy or France.

King Eardulf of Northumbria in Rome.

The joint action of Charlemagne and Leo in a case[5] much nearer home serves to give us an insight as to the blessings that would have accrued to Europe, not from an ideal 'Roman emperor,' but even from a succession of rulers like Charlemagne. With such emperors and such a union of Church and State as existed in the days of Charlemagne and Leo, the great standing armies, which

[1] *Cf. Chron. de pat. Nov. Aquil.*, ed. Monticolo, p. 15; *Cron. Altinate*, l. 8, ed. Rossi, p. 227; Dandolo, *Chron.*, ap. *R. I. S.*, xii.

[2] *Annal.*, Einhard, ad an. 803; *Cron. Venez.*, of John the Deacon, ad an. 803 (ed. Monticolo, p. 101).

[3] "Vestra imp. potentia sine consultu apostolatus nostri nequaquam eum aliubi collocare voluit." Ep. 5 Leo., ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v., or *Mon. Carol.*, p. 321.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] *Cf.* Ep. 2 Leo, ap. *Mon. Carol.*, p. 313; and *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 806.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sap the strength of modern Europe, and are a perpetual menace to its peace and to the priceless blessings that flow therefrom, would not be needed.

At this time, when from years of wild anarchy the once powerful kingdom of Northumbria was fast going to pieces, its king, Eardulf, who when only a noble had been wounded it was thought to death, had been seized by his enemies and cast into prison (806). During the time of his power[1] he would seem to have acknowledged some kind of superior authority in the emperor,[2] and to have cultivated the friendship of the Pope in a particular manner. Hence, both took an active interest in his misfortunes. Both sent special messengers[3] to Northumbria. Whilst the emperor's messenger succeeded in obtaining the king's release[4] (808), the Pope's envoy heard what both parties had to say on the merits of the case; for appeal to the Pope had been made in the first instance.[5] Leo expresses his delight to the emperor that his action saved the life of the king, and assures Charlemagne that this 'imperial defence' of his is praised on all hands. After visiting Charlemagne at Nimeguen, about Easter 808, Eardulf

[1] Some notice of this king may be got from Simeon of Durham (†1133), *De Gest. Reg.*, ad an. 801, etc.; *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 795, etc.

[2] Hence when writing to the emperor (*Mon. Carol.*, ep. 2, p. 311, or ap. *M. G. SS.*, v.), Leo rejoices in the safety of Eardulf, "quia et vester semper *fidelis* extitit, et ad nos missos suos dirigebat."

[3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.*

[5] *Ib.* To the information contained in a letter to the Pope from Charlemagne, to the effect that Eardulf had been driven from his kingdom, Leo replied that 'the Saxons' had already informed him of the affair, and that it was especially on account of that wicked deed that he had sent his envoy into the kingdom. "Hoc per Saxones agnoveramus. Unde maxime ipsum missum nostrum pro ipsa nequitia illic direximus." The next letter of the Pope to Charlemagne (December 31, 808) shows him sending the emperor all the correspondence he had received on the subject, and asking him to return it when read, as "eorum verba pro pignore retinemus."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

went on to Rome.[1] He would seem to have satisfied the Pope as to his right to the throne; for in the beginning of the year 809, he left Rome and was escorted back to his kingdom by the envoys of the emperor and the Pope.[2] On this incident Gregorovius[3] remarks: "Rome, it is true, had already beheld kings, more especially from the British Isles, come to take the cowl. Eardulf was, however, the first to sue in the Lateran for the restoration of the crown of which he had been deprived. The instance shows *the views which were arising* in the West concerning papal authority. And since, after Pippin's days, it was *kings themselves* who, for the sake of temporal advantage, exalted the conception of the Roman episcopate in the eyes of peoples and princes, we cannot be surprised that these bishops, renouncing the idea of spiritual intercession, soon arrogated to themselves the divine power of giving and removing crowns." The concluding statement in the foregoing quotation is simply a groundless assertion of Gregorovius himself, for which he does not venture to advance the smallest semblance of proof. And it should be observed that men do not 'arrogate to themselves' power freely placed in their hands; so that if, in the Middle Ages, we find popes from time to time adjudicating on the rights of kings to their thrones—not arrogating to themselves the divine power of giving and removing crowns at pleasure—we might say, with Gregorovius himself, that this exercise of authority was the result of the free appeal to Rome of kings themselves. It was certainly, however, the legitimate outcome of the feudal ideas of the Middle Ages. In the eyes of men in those times, not

[1] Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 808.

[2] Einhard, *Fuldenses Ann.*, ad an. 809, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. *Cf.* Einhard, *Ann.*, ad an. 808–9.

[3] *Rome, etc.*, ii. 15.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

only was every man in each kingdom subject to an overlord, but in the union which then existed between Christian states and the Church, kings themselves were taken to be responsible for the proper exercise of their power to the ultimate tribunal of the See of Rome.

Eanbald II., Archbishop of York.

There was being discussed at Rome at the same time as that of Eardulf, the case of the Archbishop of York, Eanbald, the second of that name, a man of great influence, and seemingly somewhat worldly. Whether this was in connection with the affair of king Eardulf (whose enemies he was said to have harboured), or with some other business, is not clear. It has been conjectured that it concerned the endless dispute between the archbishops of York and Canterbury[1] on the subject of the primacy. For his pallium this prelate was indebted to the exertions of Alcuin, who had been his master. Sometime before August 797, Alcuin wrote[2] to Pope Leo: "In behalf of the envoys—who have come from my country and my city, according to canonical and apostolic custom and the command of Blessed Gregory our apostle, to beg the dignity of the sacred pall—I humbly beg you to graciously listen to the prayers of a necessitous church. For in those parts the dignity of the sacred pallium is necessary to overcome the wicked and preserve the authority of the holy church." Eanbald received his pallium on the 8th[3] September 797.

[1] For Leo in his letter to Charlemagne above quoted (*Mon. Carol.*, p. 313) writes: "Coenulfus rex nec suum archiepiscopum (viz., Wulfred of Canterbury, 805–832) pacificatum habet nec istum Eanbaldum idem archiepiscopum." Of course it may have been that Eanbald had had a hand in dethroning Eardulf. The letters of Alcuin to Eanbald show that, by the year 801, there was bad blood between the king and the archbishop. (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 534).

[2] Ep. 125, ed. D. or ap. *Mon. Alc.*, p. 358. The envoys of Eanbald went to Rome "more canonico atque apostolico, B. Gregorii prædicatoris nostri præcepto," etc.

[3] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 797.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Whatever the case of Archbishop Eanbald was, it greatly saddened the Pope, and he daily prayed at the Confession of St. Peter that the dispute between Eanbald and Wulfred of Canterbury might come to an end. Charlemagne had interested himself in this matter as in that of Eardulf, and Leo begged[1] him to continue his good offices. In answer to a request from Charlemagne that the Pope would send by a suitable envoy "a hortatory letter of his apostolic authority" to Eanbald, to summon him to Rome or to state his case in the emperor's presence, Leo replied[2] that he had already composed such a letter and sent it on to Charlemagne to be forwarded at once by one of the emperor's envoys, as his own was not yet ready. As no more of this affair is known, it may perchance be concluded that this combined papal and imperial action was as successful in dealing with Eanbald as in restoring Eardulf.

The Council, so-called, of Beccanceld, 796.

The other relations of Leo with this country may be now suitably treated of in chronological order. With the approach of the ninth century and its Danish inroads, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon, which was at its height during the seventh and eighth centuries, began to set. With the general confusion in the civil order, disorders were increasing in the ecclesiastical. One of these was the abuse of nominating laymen to be superiors of monasteries. This breach of the canons Ethelheard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, condemned "by the command[3] of Pope Leo" in a synod at 'Beccanceld' (or really at Clovesho in 803), declaring that whoever did not observe "this decree of God, and of our Pope, and of us," would be

[1] *Cf.* the letter oft quoted above—viz., Ep. Leo., ap. *Mon. Car.*, 311-5.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 796. *Cf.* Haddan and Stubbs, iii. pp. 517 and 545. As this decree of Ethelheard is practically the same as one issued by him at Clovesho in 803, it would seem that this council of 'Beccanceld' is no other than the council of Clovesho.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

accountable to the judgment seat of God, and concluding: "I, Ethelheard, Archbishop, with twelve bishops and twenty-three abbots, do confirm and ratify the same with Christ's rood token."

Eadbert of Kent.

About the same time the Archbishop had another breach of discipline to contend against, which also called for the intervention of the Pope. On the death of the last descendant of Hengist, the throne of Kent became vacant. It was seized by Eadbert Praen, a cleric, in 796. Unable to pass over this violation of the canons, Ethelheard turned to the Pope, who excommunicated Eadbert, and threatened to call on the inhabitants of Britain to punish his disobedience.[1] But this same year, Cenulf, who had succeeded the powerful Offa in the kingdom of the Mercians (796), made Eadbert's action an excuse for invading Kent. The unfortunate man was soon deprived of his kingdom and of his eyes[2] (797 or 798). It should be noted that the dates of the ecclesiastical affairs of England at this time are by no means easy to fix with any degree of certainty. Those here given are in accordance with the best authorities.

The pallium taken away from Lichfield.

On another very important matter Ethelheard and Cenulf were acting in harmony at this same period. William of Malmesbury[3] describes Ethelheard as a man of considerable energy and of great influence with the powerful ones of his time. This influence he used to win

[1] *Cf.* Lingard, *Hist. of England*, i. p. 81. In Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 460; or better, in *Mon. Alc.*, p. 363, may be read the Pope's letter (797) to Cenulf—a letter which will be quoted again—in which "for the eternal welfare of his soul the apostate cleric" is anathematised by the Pope, who will send an 'apostolicum commonitorium' to all the people of the whole of Britain, to expel Eadbert from Kent, if he persists in his conduct. In Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 523, the letter is dated 798.

[2] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 796.

[3] *De Gest. Pont.*, i., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1448 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

back the jurisdiction that belonged to the See of Canterbury till the time when, by the efforts of King Offa and the authority of Pope Hadrian, the extent of its sway was curtailed. Ethelheard first secured the co-operation of Eanbald II. of York. These two metropolitans pointed out to King Cenulf the injustice that had been done the old See of Canterbury by the erection of Lichfield into an Archiepiscopal See. Cenulf, who was "inferior[1] to no preceding king in power or in faith," when he heard what was the ancient ecclesiastical discipline of the country, at once consented to use his influence with the Pope for the restoration of the ancient order of things. He accordingly wrote (797) to the Pope a letter,[2] which began: "To the most holy and truly loving Lord Leo, Pontiff of the sacred and Apostolical See, Cenulf, by the grace of God, king of the Mercians, with the bishops, princes, and every degree under our authority, sends the greeting of the purest love in Christ." Cenulf thanks God for giving the Church such a worthy ruler, in succession to Hadrian, as the present Pope. For "we who live on the farthest confines of the world, justly boast, beyond all other things, that the Church's exaltation is our safety, and its prosperity our constant ground of joy, since your apostolical dignity and our true faith originate from the same source."[3] After begging the Pope's blessing, recalling to his mind the ecclesiastical constitution of the country laid down by Pope Gregory, and the action of Offa, who "through enmity against the venerable Jaenberht (Lambert) and the Kentish people," obtained from Pope Hadrian the pallium for the

[1] Thus writes William of Malmesbury († about 1145), who was himself inferior to no preceding historian of our country in accuracy, industry, and ability. *De Gest. Reg.*, l. i. c. 4.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Bohn's translation (p. 79). "Quia unde tibi apostolica dignitas, inde nobis fidei veritas innotuit."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

bishop of the Mercians, Cenulf asked Leo to take the matter into his consideration, and let him know what had to be observed in the matter for the future. The king concludes by offering the Pope a "small gift, for friendship's sake," of 120 mancuses.[1]

The same year there came back an answer[2] from the Pope to the effect that he was glad to find that, like his predecessors, Cenulf came for truth to the Church of St. Peter; that Pope Hadrian would not have lessened the jurisdiction of the See of Canterbury against the custom, had not King Offa given the Pope to understand that it was the general wish, both on account of the extent of the territory ruled by the king of the Mercians and other weighty reasons; that he confirmed the primacy of Canterbury, and that he would like to remind the king that his predecessor had promised no less a yearly sum than 365 mancuses for the poor and for 'the lights' of St. Peter.

It would appear that 'Lichfield' made a stand for his newly acquired privileges. Ethelheard found it necessary to go to Rome in person to plead his cause. He was completely successful. The Pope issued (January 18, 802) a formal decree—perhaps the only fully dated document of this affair—in which, "by virtue of the authority[3] of St. Peter," he granted the restoration of its ancient rights to the See of Canterbury. He also wrote[4] at the same time to King

[1] Of these there are thought to be eight to the pound sterling, if the mancus be supposed to be of silver. A gold mancus was worth about nine times that amount. *Cf.* Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*, i. p. 259 n.

[2] *Mon. Alc.*, p. 363; or Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 460. This letter, which begins "Inclitæ excellentiæ," is not noticed, at least in the first ed. of Jaffé's *Regesta R. P.*

[3] "Ex auctoritate b. Petri . . . . tibi, Ethelharde, tuisque succesoribus omnes Anglorum ecclesias, sicut a priscis temporibus fuerunt . . . . irrefragabiliter jure concedimus." Ap. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 536.

[4] Ap. Malmesbury, *De Gest. Reg.*, i. § 89; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 538.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Cenulf, assuring him of the gratification he felt at learning from the king's two letters, brought by Ethelheard, that the king was prepared "to humbly submit in all things to the apostolic decree; . . . . to have given his life for that of the Pope, if he had been nigh, out of respect for his office (doubtless an allusion to the attack on the Pope's life), ... and to receive the Pope's letters of kindest admonition with all humility."[1] Leo accepts the 120 mancuses, and continues: "As you take notice in your royal letters that no Christian[2] dares to contravene our apostolic decrees, we accordingly endeavour to decide what is of advantage to your kingdom; so that what our brother Ethelheard, or the whole body of evangelical and apostolic doctrine of the holy fathers and our holy predecessors has ordained, under canonical censure, for you, and your princes and people, you ought not, by any means, to resist at all their orthodox doctrine. For Our Lord has said, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me'" (Matt. x. 40). After praising the archbishop, Leo goes on to say that, "by the authority of Blessed Peter . . . . whose place, though unworthy, we hold," he gives him such power that, if any of his subjects, "as well kings and princes as people, shall transgress the Lord's commandments," he will excommunicate him till he repent. In conclusion, "having discovered the truth of the matter," the Pope says he has restored[3] his rights and privileges to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Council of Clovesho, 803.

On his return to England, Ethelheard held a synod at

[1] "In omnibus apostolicis humiliter consentire censuris, ... et quando nostræ dulcissimæ admonitionis litteræ ad vestræ unanimitatis perveniunt aures, cum omni suavitate cordis . . . . suscipere." *Ib.*

[2] "Nostris apostolicis sanctionibus nullus Christianus contraire præsumit." *Ib.*

[3] "Confirmatione nostra apostolica auctoritate eas (diœceses) illi in integro, sicut antiquitus fuerunt, constituentes reddidimus." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Clovesho. Here, in accordance with the "authoritative[1] precept of his prerogative," the honour of St. Augustine's See was restored in its completeness, "just as St. Gregory, the Apostle and Master of our nation, arranged it." And if anyone, king or bishop, dared in the future to lessen the honour due to the metropolitan See, he was to understand that he would be damned "unless before his death he made reparation for the injury he had inflicted on the Church, contrary to the canons." After this no more was ever heard of the Archbishop of Lichfield. This same year the sturdy champion of the rights of Canterbury died. He was succeeded by Wulfred, of whom the first chronicle of our nation records[2] that he received the pallium in 806, went to Rome, along with the bishop of Sherburn, in 812 (really in 814), and "with the blessing of Pope Leo," returned to his own bishopric in 813, *i.e.* in 815.

Wulfred's pallium, 806.

If all is not clear with regard to that portion of our history which has been just narrated, there is a still thicker haze over the part now to be explored. Beginning our investigations with the commencement of Wulfred's pontificate (805–32), we find that while it is certain that he received his pallium from Rome, it is not certain whether he went for it himself or not.[3] There is extant a fragment of a letter written "to a venerable Pope Leo" by "all the bishops and priests of the whole of the island of Britain." It is possible that this epistle may have been indicted during a vacancy in the See of Canterbury[4]; and, if so, the

[1] "Sui privilegii auctoritatis præceptum posuit" (Leo). Wilkins, *Concilia*, i. 167; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 542.

[2] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, sub ann. 804, 12, 13.

[3] Contemporary authorities do not decide; and it is questionable how far much later ones are reliable. William of Malmesbury could not procure any materials for Wulfred's pontificate. "Omnia vetustas obsorduit et delevit." *De gest. pont.*, l. i., ap. *P. L.*, t. 179, p. 1450.

[4] "This letter appears to have been written on the occasion of a vacancy of the See of Canterbury." Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 561 n.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

necessity of synchronising such a vacancy with the reign of a Pope Leo, would point to Leo III. as its recipient. On the other hand, as there is nothing to force the conclusion that it was written during the vacancy of the See, whereas, on the contrary, though only recently deceased, Alcuin (†804) is quoted as an historical authority like Bede, it would seem that it was addressed to a later Leo, probably to a tenth-century Leo. For at that time the general disorder in Italy, and the fact that many of the passes of the Alps were in the hands of the Saracens, rendered the journey to Rome highly dangerous.[1] At any rate the writers of the letter, quoting Bede, point out that at first the pallium was sent to the archbishops, and that they had not, as they have now, to encounter the difficulties and dangers of a journey to Rome. They also note, and here the fragment abruptly ends, that in the beginning no money was exacted when the pallium was granted. Evidently, then, the burden of the document was to obtain for the archbishops of Canterbury—evidently personally acting in their own interests—permission not to have to go to Rome for the pallium, and not to have to pay a sum of money when they received it. If Leo III. ever received this request, it is certain that he did not accede to it. A full century had to elapse before Canute, the Great, succeeded in obtaining from Rome the abolition of the gratuity paid on the reception of the pallium.[2]

Wulfred quarrels with King Cenulf.

Most of Wulfred's pontificate was spent in quarrelling with Cenulf, King of Mercia, although, as we have seen, it was that prince who restored "its faltering dignity to Canterbury."[3] As early as the year 808, the two were on bad terms. The king was at that moment in opposition

[1] *Cf.* Flodoard, *Ann.*, 923. "Multitudo Anglorum limina S. Petri orationis gratia petentium inter Alpes a Sarracenis trucidatur."

[2] William of Malmesbury, *De gest. reg.*, ii. 11.

[3] *Ib.*, i. c. 4.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to both the archbishops of England.[1] These initial troubles, whatever was their exact nature, seem to have been soon smoothed over. Whether the archbishop's journey to Rome in 814, "on the business of the English Church,"[2] had any connection with further difficulties between Cenulf and himself is not certain. But, at any rate, in a year or two after this, what our authorities set down as the 'violence and avarice' of the king caused a serious breach between them; for he seized two of his monasteries and accused him to the Pope.[3] The result of the appeal to Rome seems to have been that the archbishop was deprived of the right of exercising his powers, and a species of interdict was laid upon the whole country. "For nearly six years the whole of the English people was deprived of its primatial authority and of the ministry of holy baptism."[4]

Whether king or archbishop was more to blame in this matter, the interdict must have stirred up a great deal of unpopularity against the former. He became anxious to bring about at least a seeming reconciliation with Wulfred. He accordingly summoned a Witan to meet in London, and invited the archbishop to attend it under a safe conduct. When he had thus secured his presence, he calmly proposed that, on condition of his giving up more

[1] Ep. Leo. ad. Car., ap. Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 562 f. "Coenulfus . . . . nec suum Archiepiscopum pacificatum habet nec istum Eanbaldum idem Archiepiscopum."

[2] Roger of Wendover, ad an. 814.

[3] *Cf.* the record of the council of Clovesho (825). "Patefactum est quod Wulfredus per inimicitiam et violentiam avaritiamque Cœnwulfi, sive quæ hic in nostra propria gente peracta sunt, seu etiam ultra mare ad illam apostolicam sedem per ejus jussionem et inmissionem adlata sunt." Ap. Haddan and Stubbs, *l. c.*, 597.

[4] "Nec ille solus Episcopus his aliisque rebus perplurimis inhonoratus fuisset, sed per easdem (the text has *eadem*) supradictas accussationes et discordias tota gens Anglorum VI. ferme annorum curricula sua primordiali auctoritate sacræque baptismatis ministerio privata est." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of his property to him, he would either clear him before the Pope, or, if that proved to be impossible, he would restore to him the money he had received from him. On the other hand, if he did not comply with his new demand, he would deprive him of everything he possessed, send him into exile, and never permit him to return, whatever might be said "by the lord Pope, the emperor, or anybody else."[1] Terrified by these threats, the archbishop, after a long opposition, at length agreed on condition that the rest of his rights were respected. But no sooner had the faithless king got what he wanted, than (822) he not only kept his ill-gotten goods till the hour of his death, but continued his course of plundering the helpless primate. Even after the king's demise the archbishop could not at once recover his property. Matters were not satisfactorily arranged between him and Cenulf's heirs till the council of Clovesho in 825.[2]

The monastery of Abingdon.

The avarice of Cenulf is also shown in a narrative which has been preserved for us by the *Historia Monasterii de Abingdon*. The Mercian king had two sisters as remarkable for their virtue as for their beauty and grace.[3]

[1] "Mandavit (Cenulf) quod omnibus rebus quæ illius dominationis sunt dispoliatus debuisset fieri, omnique de patria ista esse profugus, et nunquam nec verbis domne papæ nec Cæsaris . . . . huc in patriam iterum recepisse, nisi hoc consentire voluisset." *Ib.* *Cf.* p. 602.

[2] It is impossible to settle satisfactorily the dates of the successive stages of this quarrel. It may perhaps be supposed that the quarrel began in 813, before Wulfred went to Rome; that the six-years period of interdict lasted till the council of London about 819, and that the three years of the king's faithlessness continued till his death in 822. Against this is the fact that the archbishop and the king sat together in assemblies in 814 and 816 (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 577, 579); hence the quarrel may have begun in 817, and the London council have been held in the third year of the duration of the interdict.

[3] "Non solum facie decoras, verum etiam elegantia morum bonorum insignitas, et (quod est longe melius) in omnibus et per omnia Omnipotenti Deo devotas." L. i. c. 21, ed. Master of the Rolls, i. p. 18.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Resolved to consecrate their lives to God, they steadfastly refused the offers of marriage made to them by the noblest in the land, and begged their brother to give them a piece of land, "free from all secular dues," in which they might be buried, and which, after their death, might go to the monks of Our Lady of Abingdon. With the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal of his kingdom, Cenulf granted them "the villa (estate) which is called Culeham." By the decision of the secular authority it was to be free from all temporal jurisdiction save that of the abbot of Abingdon, and by a bull of Pope Leo, procured by the king, from the spiritual authority of the bishop. The Pope also confirmed the monastery in its possession of the villa, and begged the king to do likewise. Before the king's charter was forthcoming, however, he had quarrelled with the abbot of Abingdon. His "hunters and hawkers, after the fashion of men of their class,"[1] harried the property of the abbey. In vain did the abbot Rethun appeal to the king. As he could not get justice from him, he went to Rome and appealed to the Pope. With Leo he was more successful in his quest for justice. But it was one thing to return to England with letters of protection and privilege from Rome, and another to induce the king to pay heed to them. Now by smooth speeches and now by threats, Cenulf procrastinated,[2] and Pope Leo died in the interim. Rethun, therefore, tried what gold would effect in the way "of obtaining the king's love and a final remedy." The king's heart was straightway unlocked, and a royal decree

[1] "Venatores et aucupes regis Kenulfi, prout illa gens assolet, absque verecundia aliena vivere quadra . . . . domum Abbendoniæ aggravare presumebant." *Ib.*, c. 22.

[2] According to an edition of the *Historia*, written down fifty years after the one we have here followed, the king was angry with the abbot for having obtained "letters which were derogatory to the royal dignity." *Ib.*, c. 22, p. 23.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

proclaimed the inviolability of the monastery and its possessions, at the request, as it declared, "of the lord apostolic and most glorious Pope Leo," but really, as we know, in consideration of the abbot's gold. "Lest the trouble should arise again," Rethun committed the whole case to writing; and it is no doubt from this account that the thirteenth century compiler of the history of Abingdon drew his materials.

Affairs of the East.

During all this time, affairs in the capital of the Eastern Empire had not been moving very smoothly, either politically or ecclesiastically. By the action of his mother, Irene, Constantine VI. lost his throne and his eyes (August 797). She was in turn deposed by her avaricious treasurer Nicephorus, who lost his life (July 811) in a campaign against the Bulgarians. His son Stavrakios was forced by his brother-in-law, Michael Rhangabe, to retire to a monastery after a reign of two months. By the return of the wheel of fortune, Michael, who "was a weak, well-meaning man,"[1] was himself obliged to embrace the same monastic state (July 813) by Leo V. (the Armenian). Clearly the political conditions of the Eastern Empire cannot have been very sound during the life of Pope Leo III. And if there were troubles in the State, there were also troubles in the Church. These latter were the more unfortunate that they had their origin, at least, in the misunderstandings of good men. They arose between Tarasius, the patriarch of Constantinople, and certain monks. The monks regarded the patriarch as

[1] Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 128. It is a pity that for this period of the history of the Eastern Empire, not only Finlay, but many other of our historians, content themselves with copying Schlosser of Heidelberg, in his history of the iconoclast emperors. For Bishop Hefele, whose learned impartiality is acknowledged on all sides, speaks of this work (*Hist. of the Councils*, v. 266 n., Eng. trans.) "as offensive through insipid argument as by prejudiced perversion of history."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

over-indulgent to sinners, and somewhat too plastic in the hands of the emperor. If Tarasius was prudent to a degree verging on cowardice, the monks were zealous to a similar point of rashness. Their chiefs were the abbot Plato and his nephew, Theodore the Studite (so called from being abbot of the famous monastery of Studion[1] at Constantinople), who was a relative of Constantine VI.'s second wife, Theodota. "Most of the abbots round Constantinople (at this time) were men of family and wealth, as well as of learning and piety."[2] And as Plato and Theodore were the men looked up to by the others, their power and influence may be the more readily understood.

Tarasius charged with favouring 'simonists.'

From two letters appended to the acts of the second œcumenical council of Nicæa and other sources, the mistrust of Tarasius by the monks must be referred to the days of Pope Hadrian. After the seventh œcumenical council was over, some of the monks averred that many of the Greek bishops had obtained their sacred office by simony, and accused the patriarch of restoring to their positions those who had been condemned on account of this vice. Tarasius was not slow to reply. He sent one of the above-mentioned letters to Pope Hadrian, whom he speaks of as "adorned with the chief priesthood," and "by right and the will of God ruling the sacred hierarchy."[3] In it he denounces simony, declares his freedom from it, and begs the Pope, "the words of whose mouth we obey," to pronounce against simony. The other letter Tarasius addressed to the abbot John. He declared that, as he

[1] *Cf.* Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.*, l. 45, § 7, § 58, on this monastery.

[2] Finlay, *l.c.*, p. 97.

[3] "Summo sacerdotio decorata sanctitas vestra, jure ac secundum Dei voluntatem sacrum hierarchicum gubernans ordinem—πρυτανεύουσα τὴν ἱεραρχικὴν ἁγιστειαν." Letter of Tarasius to Pope Hadrian, printed at the end of the acts of the seventh Gen. Council.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

detested the severity of Novatian, he of course received those who did penance for their simony. But of simony he was not guilty himself, nor had he restored to their office those who had been guilty of it. The impression, however, that the patriarch was too compliant remained, and was soon deepened by a circumstance which, both before and since, has brought much evil on many a good man.

Divorce of the Empress Maria, 795.

The young emperor Constantine VI. got tired of his wife Maria, and fell in love with a maid of honour, Theodota. He then tried to induce the patriarch to approve of his design of repudiating Maria. For final answer he heard from the patriarch, "I would[1] rather suffer death and all manner of torments than consent to his design." Constantine, however, resolved to have his own way. Maria was divorced, and Theodota was married to the emperor (795) by the priest Joseph, 'economus' or treasurer of the Church of Constantinople, as Tarasius had of course refused to perform the ceremony. When it was over, however, Tarasius, thinking that no good would come of excommunicating the emperor, but rather harm, as Constantine talked of renewing the iconoclast persecution, took no further action. The monks, however, justly indignant at this flagrant breach of the laws both of God and man on the part of the emperor, boldly declared against emperor and patriarch together. "They considered that they had indeed found a Herod, but no St. John the Baptist." Constantine, finding that he could not gain over the monks, inflicted upon them scourging, imprisonment, and exile. Plato and Theodore were among those who were

[1] *Cf.* the *life* of Tarasius by his disciple Ignatius, ap. *Acta SS. Bolland.*, tom. v., February; and Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, February 25.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

so treated. From Thessalonica, his place of exile, Theodore wrote[1] (797) to ask the help of Pope Leo. In his reply the Pope bestowed great praise on the abbot's wisdom and firmness, but was, under the circumstances, not able to render any material aid. The deposition, however, of Constantine VI. in this year by his mother gave freedom to the monks; and the degradation of the priest Joseph by the patriarch reconciled them to Tarasius.

Nicephorus, a layman, made patriarch of Constantinople.

The intrepid monks were soon in trouble again for opposing the arbitrary conduct of the new emperor Nicephorus in nominating a layman, the secretary and historian Nicephorus, as the successor of Tarasius, who died at the beginning[2] of 806. But the persecution which Theodore and his friends brought upon themselves for this opposition was small compared to what they had to suffer when they cut themselves off from communion with the new patriarch Nicephorus, on the occasion of his restoring the treasurer Joseph to his office at the bidding of the emperor. This act of the tyrannical Nicephorus was part of his policy "to render[3] the civil power supreme over the clergy and the Church." Determined to make the monks submit, the emperor caused a council to be held (January 809), in which various disgraceful decrees—to be specified presently—were passed. The Greek emperors could always find a number of bishops to put their names to anything. The monks, banished to different islands, appealed to the Holy

[1] *Cf.* the *life* of Theodore by the monk *Michael* (?), a contemporary, ap. Sirmond., *Op. Var.*, v. The *life* in Sirmond is not really the *life* written by Michael. That *life* was only published for the first time by Cardinal Mai, *Nova Pat. Bib.*, vi. p. 293 f. What was the name of the monk who wrote the life in Sirmond is unknown. See also Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, November 22.

[2] Theoph., *Chron.*, ad an. 798.

[3] Finlay, *l.c.*, p. 112.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

See. Among other letters to Leo, Theodore sent the following[1]: "Since Our Lord Jesus Christ gave to St. Peter the dignity of chief pastor, it is to him or to his successor that, as we have learnt from our fathers, we must give notice of any new errors that arise in the Church." He then went on to tell the Pope of the re-establishment of the priest Joseph and of the synod which was held to condemn the monks, a synod which established a heresy. It had declared that the adulterous marriage of the emperor (Constantine VI.) had been contracted in virtue of a dispensation; that the laws of God are not for emperors; that those who fight even to death for truth and justice are not the imitators of St. John the Baptist and St. Chrysostom, and that each bishop is so far master of the canons that he can re-establish deposed priests at his pleasure. If our opponents have not hesitated to hold, on their own authority, an heretical council, whereas, according to ancient custom, they ought not to have held even an orthodox one, without your (Leo's) knowledge, how much more necessary is it for you to assemble one to condemn their error?

Leo's reply to this letter is lost; but from a second letter[2] of Theodore we know the Pope sent him some rich presents, perhaps for the support of the exiled monks. The emperor's persecution of them only ceased with his death (July 811). His successor Michael strove successfully to bring about peace and reconciliation between the

[1] I. ep. 33. Most of the letters of Theodore are to be found ap. Sirmond, *Op. Var.*, v. This letter is addressed τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ κορυφαιοτάτῳ πατρὶ πατέρων; "To the most holy and supreme Father of Fathers." "Quandoquidem Petro Christus Deus post claves regni cœlorum pastoralis etiam principatus contulit dignitatem (τὸ τῆς ποιμενιαρχίας ἀξίωμα), ad Petrum utique, vel ejus successorem, quicquid in Ecclesia Catholica per eos innovatur qui aberrant a veritate, necesse est referre." *Ib.*, p. 239, or ap. *P. G.*, t. 99.

[2] I. ep. 34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

patriarch and the monks.[1] The priest Joseph was a second time degraded, and for a time, till the renewed outbreak of the iconoclast heresy under Leo the Armenian, the Church of Constantinople enjoyed a little peace. The great founder of the Studites did not fail to impress both upon the emperor and upon his own monks from what quarter this greatest of blessings was to come. In all their religious troubles recourse must be had to Rome. Writing towards the close of his life to the former (Michael Rhangabe), in the name of all the abbots of Constantinople, he said[2]: "Should a question arise of which your divine magnanimity hesitates to ask or fears to receive the solution of the patriarch, let your powerful arm, strengthened of heaven, seek the decision of Old Rome, in accordance with the custom established from the beginning by the tradition of the Fathers. For it, it is, O emperor, imitator of Christ, which is the first among all the Churches of God, viz., that of Peter the proto-throne, to whom the Lord has said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, etc.'" Upon his spiritual children he inculcated the absolute necessity of harmony with the See of Rome, and not with that of Byzantium, which was 'an heretical fragment' on account of its frequent habit of separating itself from the other Sees.[3]

There are some historians who will only see in the action of the aged Plato, and of Theodore and his friends at this period, fanatical opposition of turbulent monks to constituted

[1] Theoph., *Chron.*, ad an. 804. On this whole question see especially Hergenroether's *Hist. of the Church*, iii. pp. 81–91 (Fr. ed.); Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, l. 45; Marin, *Les moines de Constantinople*, p. 246 ff.

[2] Αὕτη γὰρ, χριστομίμητε βασιλεῦ, ἡ κορυφαιοτάτη τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἧς Πέτρος πρωτόθρονος, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύριος φησι· Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, κ.τ.λ. Ep. 86, ap. *P. G.*, t. 99.

[3] "Τῇ ἀποστολικῇ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰ ἴσα φρονοῦντες· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ Βυζαντιαία τμῆμα αἱρετικόν, ὡς εἴθισται αὐτῇ πολλαχῶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀποσχίζεσθαι." Ep. ii. 8.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

authority. For ourselves we confess that, when we consider the usual subservience of the Greeks, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to the whims, however base, of the emperors, we find in this opposition of the monks something very refreshing. Even if they occasionally overstepped the bounds of prudence on the side of rashness, they are worthy of lasting honour, as they contended for principles which lie at the very foundation of the well-being of human society

Nicephorus sends his synodical letter to the Pope.

The patriarch Nicephorus took advantage of the accession of Michael to send his synodical letter to the Pope, for Michael's predecessor had refused[1] to allow him to do so. In the course of a very long[2] profession of faith, he proclaimed his belief in the seven General Councils, and begged[3] the Pope to supply anything that might be lacking in his profession. In conclusion he excused himself for not sending to the Pope his synodical letter before, on the ground of the difficulties of resisting the powerful, and not from contempt or ignorance of what was the correct method of procedure. He begged the Pope to pray to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, for him.

To bring about external as well as internal tranquillity, Michael concluded a treaty of peace with Charlemagne—a treaty which that sovereign caused to be ratified[4] by the Pope before it was finally delivered (812) into the hands of the Greek ambassadors.

[1] "Ad hoc enim tempus a Nicephoro imperatore prohibitus fuerat, quominus id præstaret." *Theoph.*, *ib.*; *Hist. Miscell.*, l. xxiv., p. 1138, ap. *P. L.*, t. 95.

[2] In Labbe's ed. of the Councils (vol. vii., ed. Paris, 1671) it runs in Greek and Latin from p. 1205 to 1232.

[3] *Ib.* "Si qua autem a nobis sunt prætermissa, ea amico paternoque affectu per vosmetipsos explete, quo nimirum vestra abundantia nostram suppleat inopiam."

[4] Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 812. *Cf. supra*, and Hodgkin, *Italy*, viii. 252 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Of the many other transactions which must have passed between Leo and Charlemagne after his accession to the empire, or of the relations between the former and Pippin [1] and Bernard,[2] who along with him bore, in succession, the title of "King of the Lombards," our authorities note but few. However, except for that negligible kind of friction which accompanies the contact of the smoothest of bodies, the intercourse between the representatives of the highest spiritual and temporal authorities in the West was pre-eminently amicable. By his numerous letters the Pope kept the emperor in touch with the political variations of the peninsula. Presents [3] were constantly passing between them, and in matters of general policy Leo endeavoured to conform with the wishes of his protector. It is true he has not unfrequently [4] to complain of the imperial *missi*. They are either interfering or incompetent. It is equally true that, nettled at these complaints which he had good reason to fear were just, but which, from the material at his disposal, he could not well help, the emperor testily declared he could not find *missi* to please him.[5] But the disagreements between them were merely surface troubles. The main currents of their respective policies flowed steadily and harmoniously together. Nor, indeed, was there any reason why they should not, as Charlemagne did not, speaking broadly, abuse his position as guardian

The Pope and the Saracen corsairs.

[1] He had been crowned King of the Lombards in 781, and died in 810. He was constantly at war with the Lombard Duke or Prince of Beneventum, who contrived to maintain himself in practical independence of the Frankish rule, and with the remnant of the Byzantine power.

[2] The illegitimate son of Pippin. He received his father's title in 812.

[3] Ep. 1, Leo.

[4] Epp. 2, 9, 10.

[5] "Missos jam invenire non valetis, qui nobis placeant," wrote the Pope (Ep. 10), repeating the emperor's words.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(*custos*) and defender of the Church,[1] despite the efforts made by many to blacken the Pope in his eyes.[2]

Their political union is well seen in their joint action against the Saracen corsairs of Africa and Spain, who had begun their destructive raids in the early years of the century. Charlemagne advised the Pope to take certain precautionary measures, such as maintaining a fleet.[3] Leo acted on the advice he had received; and, while he had to report the plundering by the Moors of the islands of Ponza (off Gaeta) and Ischia (off Naples), and the sad want of union of the maritime powers of South Italy, he was proud to be able to write that 'our territories' were safe.[4] This happy state of affairs he ascribes to the warnings and advice he had received from the emperor and to his keeping his coasts well watched in consequence.[5] Not feeling himself competent, however, to see to the safety of Corsica, he had handed it over to the care of Charlemagne.[6]

Leo recovers some of the *patrimonies*

Though, moreover, he had no more faith in the competency of Pippin[7] than had his father,[8] he undertook, when he should come to Rome, to receive him "as became the son of

[1] God had made him the guardian of the Church, "Ecclesiæ fecit esse custodem"; St. Peter "vos in suis utilitatibus defensores constituit." Ep. 9. *Cf.* Ep. 6, *init.*

[2] Ep. 1 an. 808. "Sed qui zizania portant in conspectu vestro . . . . quod nos nec in corde habemus . . . . Deus . . . ipse judicet inter nos et ipsos."

[3] *Cf.* Ep. 8, where Leo speaks of "unum navigium nostrum." Navigium is the term he uses for war-vessels. *Cf.* Ep. 6.

[4] Ep. 6, an. 812. "De nostris terminibus insinuamus vestre . . . . potentiæ . . . . quia per vestram prudentissimam ordinationem omnia salva et inlæsa existunt."

[5] *Ib.* *Cf.* Ep. 1.

[6] *Ib.* "De insula Corsica, unde et in scriptis et per missos vestros nobis emisistis, in vestrum arbitrium et dispositum committimus."

[7] *Ib.* Hence he wrote to Charlemagne: "Sed vestrum consilium . . . . et nobis et illi necesse est."

[8] *Cf.* Ep. Car. 27, ap. Jaffé, *Mon. Car.*, p. 391, where he has to exhort him not to allow his nobles to plunder churches.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

so great a defender of the Church of God," and he consulted with him about the defence of the coasts and about the churches, "that they might get their dues (*justitias*)."[1] Not in vain did he take counsel with him or with Charlemagne about the *rights* of the churches. He recovered various patrimonies belonging to the Roman Church situated between Gaëta and the mouth of the Garigliano (Liris). Near the latter place rose a new town, called after his name Civitas or Castrum *Leopoli*, and there dwelt the papal *rector* of the patrimony dignified with the title of *consul*.[2] Ordinarily speaking these rectors were deacons of the Roman Church, but Gay[3] maintains that those to whom we are now referring "were members of the local aristocracy, inhabitants of the Byzantine territory of Gaëta, and that it was probably only on this condition that the popes were enabled to recover their domains." He points out that the same names are to be found in documents which concern the territory of Gaëta and in those which have reference to the patrimony; and that, while the former are dated with the name of the emperor, the latter bear that of the Pope.

Death of Charlemagne, 814.

The year before his death, Charlemagne associated with himself in the empire his son Louis of Aquitaine (September 813), as his other two sons, Charles and Pippin, had died. The young Bernard, a natural son of Pippin, was allowed to hold Italy, as its king, in subjection to Louis.

Early in the following year, as the inscription[4] on his

[1] Ep. 1.

[2] In the charters of Gaëta from the year 830, mention is often made of these patrimonies and their rectors. *Cf. Cod. dipl. Caiet.*, i. nn. 3, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 11, quoted, p. 503 f., by Gay in an article (L'état pontif., les Byzantins et les Lombards sur le littoral campanien—d'Hadrien I. à Jean VIII.), ap. *Mélanges d'arch et d'hist.*, 1901.

[3] *L.c.*

[4] Einhard, *in vit. Car.*, c. 31.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tomb sets forth, died Charles the Great, in the seventy-third year of his age and the forty-seventh of his reign, on January 28, 814, the seventh indiction. "No one can tell," sighs Einhard,[1] "what grief was felt for him all over the earth. The very pagans mourned for him, as the lord of the world." Christendom, at least, had reason to lament. For death had deprived it of the only arm strong enough to ward off the foes, from within and without, which were again to reduce European civilisation to almost as low an ebb as the inroads of the barbarians in the fifth and sixth centuries had done. It was this strength that was especially admired in him by Nithard, the bastard son of his daughter Bertha, and the historian of the troubles under Louis the Pious. "What I take to be the most admirable trait in him," he says, "is this. He alone was able, by the terror of the law (*moderato terrore*), to restrain the fierce barbarity as well of the Franks themselves as of the barbarians,—a thing which even the might of Rome had not been able to accomplish. So that they dared not publicly take in hand anything which was not for the general good."[2] And if his death was very evil for Frankland, it was still more so for Rome, Italy, and the popes. As sang a poet of the time[3]:

"Væ tibi Roma, Romanoque populo
Amisso summo glorioso Karolo.
Heu mihi misero!

[1] *Annal.*, ad an. 814.

[2] Nith., *Hist.*, i. 1. *Cf. Les origines de la civilisation mod.*, ii. p. 235, by G. Kurth (Paris, 1898), an excellent work and furnished with very select bibliographies.

[3] *Planctus Karoli* (an. 814), printed at the end of Einhard's *Vita Karoli M.*, in usum scholarum. It is the work of a monk of Bobbio. Dr. Hodgkin renders the two stanzas thus:

"Woe to thee, Rome! and to thy people woe!
Thy greatest and most glorious one lies low!
Woe's me! my misery!
Woe to thee, Italy! fair land and wide!
And woe to all the cities of thy pride!"

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Væ tibi sola formonsa (*sic*) Italia,
Cunctisque tuis tam honestis urbibus
Heu mihi misero!"

We shall soon see the great empire of Charlemagne going to pieces. Its great nobles will soon everywhere make themselves independent, and will soon be causing dire confusion by waging war indiscriminately with their supposed sovereigns and with one another, and by oppressing with impunity all that was physically weaker than themselves, whether in the Church or State. The barbarians too had begun their assaults from without. In England and in Ireland the Northmen had already begun the work of demoralisation by their savage inroads. Before the middle of this century they had harried the coasts of Spain and inflicted on the Moslem the cruelties they were themselves then engaged in practising in other parts. In 836 they had sailed up the Rhine, burning and destroying as far as Nimeguen (Nijmegen). Even before the death of Charlemagne they were constantly making descents on the coasts. But that great monarch "constructed a fleet for the war against the Northmen. For this purpose ships were built on the rivers of Gaul and Germany, which flow into the North Sea. As the Northmen were making a practice of ravaging the coasts of Germany with constant harryings, he posted towers and outlooks in all the harbours and at the mouths of those rivers which ships could navigate. . . . He did the same thing in the South, on the coast of the provinces of Narbonne and Septimania, and all along the coasts of Italy as far as Rome, for in those parts the Moors had lately taken to piracy. Thus Italy suffered no great damage from the Moors, nor Gaul nor Germany from the Northmen, during the reign of Charlemagne; except that Centumcellæ (the modern Civita Vecchia), a city of Etruria, was betrayed to the Moors, who took and destroyed it;

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and in Frisia some islands off the German coast were plundered by the Northmen."[1] From the passage just cited it will be seen that what the Norsemen were to the Northern Seas, the Saracens were to the Southern Seas of Europe. In 831, the latter had secured a hold of Sicily, and before the middle of the century they had appeared before the walls of Rome. When the strong arm and the clear head of Charlemagne were taken away, the causes that were to produce in Europe the anarchy of the close of the ninth and most of the tenth century were free to run their course unchecked.

Fresh conspiracy against the Pope, 815.

Among the first to feel the evil effects of the death of the great emperor was his friend the Pope, who was wont to declare how necessary his life was to all good men.[2] During the life of Charlemagne the two had been of mutual advantage to each other. In return for the wise advice, often acknowledged in the capitularies of the emperor, and for the books and learned men supplied to him by the Pope, the latter received the protection which he required against the aggressive ambition of his more powerful subjects. Some of these latter entered for a second time into a conspiracy to compass his death. In some way, however, he became cognisant of the plot, and this time, having had experience enough of the tender mercy he was like to receive at the hands of Roman conspirators, he had them seized and executed.[3] When news of this affair reached the new emperor Louis, he was

[1] Einhard, *vit. Car.*, c. 17. At the instance of Charlemagne, Pope Leo acted in like manner with regard to 'our coasts,' as he expresses himself in a letter to that emperor. Ep. 1, ap. *Mon. Car.*, and *M. G. Epp.*, v. *Cf.* also Ep. 6, *ib.*

[2] Ep. 3. "Vita vestra bonis omnibus valde est necessaria."

[3] For some reason the *L. P.* does not mention this affair. We have to rely on the Frankish historians. *Cf.* Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 815.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

considerably annoyed at it. Whether he had received a biassed account of the transaction, or whether he conceived that his rights as imperial protector of Rome had been infringed, is not known.[1] At any rate, he ordered Bernard, the king of Italy, to proceed to Rome to investigate the matter. Taken ill himself on his arrival in Rome, Bernard sent to the emperor the result of the inquiries which he had caused to be made through Count Gerold who had accompanied him. The Pope sent to Louis his own ambassadors, as well ecclesiastic as lay. 'On all the points' that were urged against him, Einhard assures us that they completely satisfied the emperor.[2] Soon after this, when the Pope fell ill, insubordination again became rife. This time the disorders arose outside the city. As an earnest of what they would soon be doing on a more extensive scale, not only in the States of the Church but in other countries of Europe, the disaffected nobles collected bands of armed men and proceeded to ravage the country. The 'domuscultæ,' or 'farm colonies,' which Leo had either rebuilt or newly founded in connection with the various cities of the Campagna, they plundered and burnt. They then determined to march on Rome to take by force property which they maintained had been rent from them. Very likely they claimed, as relatives, the estates of the conspirators which would have been confiscated when the original owners of the property had met their death. To what lengths these lawless nobles would have gone, had not their violence been met by force, it is hard to say.

[1] According to the Astronomer, in his life of Louis the Pious (ap. *P. L.*, t. 104, p. 943), though the executions were in accordance with the Roman law—lege Romanorum in id conspirante—it shocked the mild emperor to think that so severe a punishment had been ordered 'by the first bishop of the world.'

[2] "De his quæ domino suo objiciebantur, per omnia imperatori satisfecerunt (sc. pontificis legati)." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Bernard, however, sent word to the Duke of Spoleto to quell the sedition; and, when his commands had been executed, he rendered an account of the whole affair to the emperor.[1]

Martin of Ravenna.

Like many of his predecessors, Leo had to enter the lists against the archbishop of Ravenna. The city itself had already felt the touch of his fostering hand. He had sent his chamberlain with a band of workmen (*cæmentarii*) to repair the noble sixth-century basilica of St. Apollinaris in Classe, then described[2] as near (*juxta*) Ravenna, but now that city and sea have shrunk away from it, it stands, with the green mould upon its columns, like a tainted thing 'alone in its rice fields' some three miles distant from the city. The Roman workmen not only thoroughly repaired its roof and quadriportico, of which no trace now remains, but heated it by means of a hypocaust.[3] To the church thus efficiently restored the Pope made many beautiful presents—embroidered silks showing the Nativity and other incidents of Our Lord's life, and a *canistrum* (or plate to hang beneath a lamp) of the purest silver and fifteen pounds in weight.[4]

From Agnellus,[5] who was a little boy at the time of which we are writing, it appears that a certain Martin was

[1] *Ib.* *Cf.* the account (c. 25) given by the author of the *life* of the emperor Louis the Pious, who is usually cited as 'Astronomus,' which is in substantial agreement with that of Einhard. The narrative of these events in Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 22 f. (Eng. trans.), is very much coloured by that writer, because he again imagines that these gentle nobles were simply acting because they objected to ecclesiastical rule. Like the rest of their tribe in those times, they objected to any rule.

[2] Agnellus, *in vit. Mart.*, c. 168, ap. *M. G. SS. Langob.*, pp. 386, 387. For a description of this Church, read Leader Scott, *The Renaissance of Art in Italy*, p. 9. It is regarded as "one of the parents of Romanesque architecture."

[3] *L. P.*, c. 106. [4] *Ib.*

[5] *L. c.*, cc. 167–169.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

consecrated archbishop of Ravenna by Pope Leo himself in Rome, some time before the year 810, perhaps as early as 808. To curry favour with the powerful, Martin, on his return to Ravenna, sent word of his accession to Charlemagne. For some cause which Agnellus did not see fit to record, but which seems to have been immorality[1] and simony,[2] Leo found it necessary to take proceedings against the archbishop. Knowing that he had made it a point to stand well with the rulers of the Franks,[3] the Pope took the precaution of sending a legate to Louis to secure his co-operation. The emperor entered heartily into his wishes, and sent John, archbishop of Arles, into Italy with instructions to take Martin to plead his cause at Rome. When John reached Ravenna he insisted that, on pain of the loss of 2000 golden solidi, its principal citizens should see to it that their archbishop betook himself to Rome. But to Rome Martin had no wish to go. However, he acted as though it was his intention to proceed thither, but feigned illness[4] when he reached the ruined city known as *Ad Novas*,[5] some fifteen miles from Ravenna. He at once despatched a messenger to Rome to tell the Pope that he was really anxious to come to him, but that he was too ill and too stout to ride on horseback. Annoyed though he was, as he was very wishful to take him to task (*ut valde eo coartaret*), Leo had no choice but to allow him to return to his See Unfortunately the narrative of Agnellus breaks off abruptly and confusedly in the midst of a description

[1] *Cf.* Ep. 2 Leonis, *sub fin.* Writing in 808 he says that Charlemagne's *missi* heard at the archbishop's table in Lent not only what edified them, but also what disedified them. "Sed et ea, quæ ibidem audierunt, nobis turpitudo est vobis in scriptis insinuare."

[2] *Cf.* Agnellus, *in vit. Martini*, n. 167.

[3] He is said to have guided Charlemagne into Italy in 774. Agnellus, n. 160, *in vit. Leo.*

[4] "Ex parte simulabat infirmitate." *Ib.*, n. 169, *in vit. Mart.*

[5] This is thought to be the modern Porto Cesenatico.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of the efforts made by Martin to gain the goodwill of the imperial *missus* by giving extraordinary entertainments in his honour, or by making him some magnificent presents. However the episode ended at the moment, it taught Martin a lesson, and when Leo's successor visited Ravenna, he manifested a very respectful demeanour.

'The lesser litanies.'

It only now remains to tell something of Leo's work in the domains of liturgy and art. In the *Book of the Popes* we are told that[1] he decreed that the Litanies of the Saints should be recited and that processions should be made on each of the three days preceding the feast of the Ascension, a decree observed to this day throughout the Catholic Church. In contradistinction to the litanies said on the 25th of April,[2] which are known as the Greater Litanies, these are known as the Lesser Litanies. They were instituted for the same purpose as the former, viz., to beg the blessing of God on the fruits of the earth. The custom of reciting them had originated in Vienne as early as the year 470, under Bishop Mamertus, and had spread thence through Gaul to Rome.

Leo says Mass several times a day.

Another ninth century author, Walafrid Strabo (†849), a contemporary of Leo's biographer, says he had heard that that Pope very often said Mass as many as seven or nine times a day.[3] Strange as such a custom may seem now, it must be noted that, even for centuries after his time, it was left to the devotion or judgment of each priest to settle what number of Masses he would say each day.

[1] *Cf. L. P.*, ii. 40 n., 58. The *L. P.* gives the churches from and to which the procession on each of the days was to be made.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 20. From a Vatican MS. Van Gulik has published a Milanese formulary of the Greater Litanies which belongs to the tenth or eleventh century, ap. *Romische Quartalschrift*, 1er trim., 1904; *Ein mittelalterliches Formular der Letaniae Majores.*

[3] *Libell. de exord. rerum eccles.*, c. 22, ap. *P. L.*, t. 114, or *M. G. Capit.*, ii. p. 496.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

This freedom of choice seems to have been first limited by the Council of Seligenstadt (1022), which forbade[1] priests to say more than three Masses a day. Alexander II. (†1073) still further limited the number. By his ruling a priest could say only two Masses a day—one for the living and one for the dead. The present law of one Mass only a day was introduced by Honorius III.[2]

Gives princely gifts to the churches.

If during the pontificates of Hadrian and Leo the papal treasury was unusually full, those large-minded and large-hearted pontiffs emptied it in a royal and useful manner. The enormous presents which the latter received from Charlemagne, both during that prince's lifetime and after his death by virtue of his will,[3] helped him to become, if not the most, certainly one of "the most munificent and splendid of the Roman pontiffs."[4] By far the greater part of his biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* is taken up with an enumeration of the costly offerings in silks and in the precious metals which he made, for "love of our Lord and to atone for his sins,"[5] to different churches, and of the various restorations of buildings which he effected.

St. Benedict had foretold that Rome would not be destroyed by the barbarians, but would crumble to pieces by storm and earthquake.[6] These potent forces, aided by

[1] Can. 5, Hefele, *Concil.*, vi. 252.

[2] *Cf. A Cath. Dictionary*, by Addis and Arnold, 6th ed., *sub voce Mass.*

[3] Einhard, *in vit. Car.*, c. 33. The will bestows on 'the church of Blessed Peter' a silver table with a plan of the city of Constantinople upon it and other 'appointed gifts.'

[4] Milman, *Hist. of Lat. Christ.*, iii. 109.

[5] *L. P.*, nn. cv., cvii., lxix.

[6] "Roma a gentibus non exterminabitur sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus ac terræ motu fatigata in semetipsa marcescet." Greg., *Dial.*, ii. 15. In Leo's time an earthquake brought down the roof of St. Paul's Outside the Walls (*L. P.*, n. xxxi.), and the Church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus was damaged by a flood. *Ib.*, n. cxi.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

neglect consequent on the fearsome shrinkage of its population[1] and on its poverty, had already begun their work of destruction when the Saint's biographer ascended the chair of Peter in 590. "The very buildings do we behold crumbling around us,"[2] is the cry of his broken heart. Incessant fighting with the Lombards during most of the seventh and eighth centuries effectually prevented any serious attempt being made to stem the torrent of decay. Rome continued to go to destruction.[3] But with peace and wealth, the ruin of the city, at least on its ecclesiastical side, was arrested by Hadrian and Leo. By the one it was the exterior of the fabrics, which, speaking broadly, was restored, by the other the interior. Over one hundred and sixty institutions are recorded by name to have benefited by the generosity of Leo. Nor was it only churches, monasteries, and oratories which experienced his devoted care. He gave of his abundance for the dispensing of that charity, which "was a virtue altogether unknown in ancient times,"[4] to both the deaconries and the hospitals.[5] Nor did his charity begin and end at home. His revivifying hand reached not only to places in the more immediate neighbourhood of Rome, but to Albano and Palæstrina, to Porto and Ostia, to Velletri and Orvieto, and to distant Ravenna. The abodes of the dead, the silent catacombs, were no less remembered by him. Not one of the seven ecclesiastical regions but saw some of its churches at least transformed by him. From the figures actually recorded

[1] "Ex illa plebe innumerabili quanti remanseritis, aspicitis," cried S. Gregory I., *Hom. I. in Evangel.*

[2] *Hom.* 18 *in Ezech.*

[3] "Moenibus et muris, Roma vetusta cadis." A seventh century poem, ap. Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, ii. 147.

[4] Lanciani, *Pagan Rome*, p. 68.

[5] "The hospital, even in its most rudimentary shape, was not known in Rome much before the third century of the Christian era." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in the *Liber Pontificalis*, it appears that the ornaments in silver which he presented to the various churches weighed more than 22,000 pounds, while those 'in very ruddy (*fulvo nimis*) gold' weighed some 1764 pounds. Many of the articles, chalices, covers of the books of the Gospels, etc., are said to have been studded with rare gems. The vestments and the various ornaments of silk which he distributed with a lavish hand, and often "out of his own private means,"[1] were embroidered most elaborately, and often represented portions of the "story of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of His holy mother, and of the twelve apostles."[2] It is more than probable that the execution of all this splendid work would have been quite impossible had it not been for the immigration of Greek artists resulting from the iconoclast persecution. But whoever were the master-workmen, the orders given by Leo must have been followed by a veritable revival of high-class trades in Rome. Lapidaries and silversmiths, silk manufacturers, and workers in stained glass[3] and in the pre-eminently

[1] *L. P.*, ii. n. xcv. "De proprio argento ipsius."

[2] *L. P.*, n. lx. In the *treasury* of the Sagrestia dei Beneficiati of St. Peter's there is preserved a remarkable example of the embroidered work of this period. It is a tunic of a blue material, adorned with many beautiful figures in gold, and of Byzantine workmanship. On its back and front are represented the Transfiguration and Triumph of Our Lord and the Last Supper. The words ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή (the Resurrection and the Life) may still be read upon it. And though it is variously stated to have been worn by Leo and by Charlemagne, and to have been made by the order of both the one and the other, there is no reason to doubt that it belongs to the age of both of them. *Cf.* Labanca, *Carlomagno ed Adr. I. e Leo III. nell' arte Christiana*, p. iii., Torino, 1903. It is a work in which of its declared subject there is comparatively little, but of adverse criticism of the medieval popes 'an infinite deal.' *Cf.* Murray, *Handbook of Rome*, p. 248.

[3] Speaking of St. Peter's, the *L .P.* has (n. xxxiv.), "Fenestras ipsius ecclesias ex metallo gypsino decravit; et *alias fenestras de vitro diversis coloribus* decoravit." *Cf.* n. lxxxii. He also laid down mosaic flooring: "Pavimentum marmoribus diversis stravit." *Ib.*, n. xxxix. *Cf.* n. xxvii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Christian art of glass mosaic[1] must have had a very busy time.

St. Peter's. All the churches did not, of course, receive equal attention at the hands of Leo. Most of the ornaments in gold went to St. Peter's, St. Paul's[2] Outside the Walls, and St. Mary Major's, which last basilica he was anxious to adorn "on account of his very great love of Our Lady."[3] If we tell what he accomplished for one or two only of the churches, monotony will be avoided, and the reader, in possession of certain details, will no doubt be able to form for himself a mental picture of the general church restoration effected by him.

Leo, only naturally, did much for the great basilica on the Vatican hill, "on account of his great love for St. Peter, his foster-father (*nutritori suo*)."[4] Not only did he re-roof almost the whole of it, but he restored the porticos which surrounded its atrium or paradise, the steps which led up to it, the fountains which played before its silver gates, and the tower which overlooked it.[5] Its baptistery, which stood beyond the place where the north transept was afterwards erected, and had already done duty for over four hundred years,[6] he enlarged and rebuilt. "Seeing," says his biographer, "that the baptistery, from its great age, was threatened with ruin, and that the place was too small for the people who came for baptism, he rebuilt it from the foundations, making it of circular form and of larger size, and placed the sacred font in the midst of this enlarged space, and adorned it all round with porphyry columns, and placed in the midst a column with a lamb upon it of pure silver, pouring water. . . . He also adorned the

[1] *Cf.* Lowrie, *Christian Art and Archæology*, p. 292 ff.
[2] *L. P.*, n. xxxi. [3] *Ib.*, n. cv.
[4] *Ib.*, n. xxviii. *Cf.* n. cxii., where the Saint is called 'fauctori suo.'
[5] *Ib.*, nn. iii., lxxxix.
[6] Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 257 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

baptistery all round with pictures. At the same time he rebuilt from its foundations the Oratory of the Holy Cross[1] (which served as a sort of vestibule to the baptistery), which was going to ruin from age, and adorned its apse with mosaics."[2]

One of the many inscriptions on the wall of the baptistery contained the verse: "Una Petri sedes unum verumque lavacrum." This line, as Lanciani notes, contains "an allusion both to the baptismal font and to the 'chair of S. Peter' upon which the popes sat after baptizing the neophytes. The cathedra is mentioned by Optatus Milevitanus, Ennodius of Pavia, and by more recent authors, as having changed places many times, until Alexander VII. . . . . placed it in a case of gilt bronze at the end of the apse (of the present St. Peter's). . . . I saw it in 1867. The framework and a few panels of the relic may possibly date from apostolic times, but it was evidently largely restored after the peace of the Church."[3]

For the sake of the poorer pilgrims, Leo looked to the outbuildings of the great basilica. He rebuilt the place which had for ages served to lodge them, built, moreover, a new abode for them, and erected baths for their convenience.[4]

But it was on the *confession* of St. Peter that he lavished his care and treasure, "so that in his time the shrine attained the summit of its splendour. . . . 'In the con-

[1] "Where," says the Einsiedeln pilgrim of this period, "the standard of the life-giving cross is preserved." Ap. De Rossi, *Inscrip. Chr.*, ii. 227.

[2] *L. P.*, n. lxv. Barnes's translation.

[3] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christ. Rome*, p. 139 f. *Cf.* Barnes, *l.c.*, p. 78 f.

[4] *L. P.* "Cubicula juxta eccles. b. Petri . . . . ruitura . . . . in meliorem erexit statum. . . . Fecit pro subsidiis Christi pauperibus atque peregrinorum balneum," ii. n. lxxxix.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

fession he made gates (*rugas*) of pure gold with various gems.[1] . . . He put many candelabra of silver round the altar and in the presbytery. He made a new presbytery of beautifully sculptured marble'; a fresh proof that 'presbytery' in dealing with St. Peter's must be taken to denote the enclosed choir. 'He covered the front of the altar from top to bottom with plates of silver, and within the confession he placed images of the Saviour standing, and of St. Peter and St. Paul on the right and left; and the floor of the confession he covered with gold.' These images were apparently of mosaic, and it is quite possible that the figure of Our Lord, which may be seen to-day at the back of the recess of the confession, may be the very one that St. Leo placed there. The figures of St. Peter and St. Paul are also still there, but they have been entirely renewed. He put twisted columns of silver 'both at the entrance of the body (*in ingressu corporis*) on the right hand and on the left, and also at the top of the presbytery right and left, or on the side of the men and of the women, eight pairs, weighing altogether 190 pounds. Also eight arches of silver weighing 143 pounds.' . . . 'He placed a golden image of the Saviour on the beam over the entrance of the vestibule, ... and angels of silver gilt right and left in front of the confession, and also the two other angels which stand on the larger beam (*in trabe majori*) above the entrance of the vestibule, right and left of the golden image of the Saviour.'"[2]

Very numerous and valuable are the recorded presents which he made to the great basilica. Mention is made in the *Liber Pontificalis* of incense stands and thuribles of gold, of crowns of silver, of precious hangings and of vestments of silk adorned with gems and embroidered with

[1] *Ib.*, p. 1 seq.

[2] Barnes, *l.c.*, p. 198 f., translating from the *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

representations of Our Lord giving St. Peter the power of binding and loosing, of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, etc.[1] He presented it also with candelabra of all sizes in gold or silver, with golden basins set with jewels, with tables of gold, with crucifixes of pure silver, and with chalices and other vessels for the altar in gold and silver. The books of the Gospels which he gave it were bound with plates of gold inlaid with gems, and the ciboriums were covered with the rich veils known as *tetravila*.

When Leo became Pope, he did not forget his titular Church of S. Susanna[2] on the Quirinal. Hadrian, indeed, is said[3] to have restored the Church; but he cannot have done more than commence the work of renovation. Built in the third century, it was, we are expressly told, on the point of falling to pieces when Leo took it in hand.[4] After his work upon it, it was really a new and larger building, resplendent with its sanctuary, its floor, and its numerous columns all of marble. Up to the time when it was again rebuilt, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, its apse displayed the figure of the Pope in mosaic. Fortunately the design of the mosaic was copied before the ruthless demolition of the apse in 1595. It exhibited Our Lord with Charlemagne and Leo, both adorned with the square nimbus. The Pope was represented as wearing the tonsure, as beardless, and as holding in his hand a

S. Susanna.

[1] *L. P.*, ii. n. vii.

[2] *Supra*, p. 7.

[3] *L. P.*, i. n. lxx.

[4] With *L. P.*, ii. n. ix., *cf.* the following inscription which Leo set up in the apse of the restored Church:

"Dudum hæc beatæ Susannæ Martyris aula co(a)ngusto et
Tetro existens loco marcuerat, quæ Domnus Leo tertius
Papa a fundamentis erigens, condens corpus beatæ Felicitatis
Martyris, compte edificans ornabit atque dedicabit."

Ap. Armellini, *Gli antichi Cimet. Christ. di Roma*, p. 207; or *L. P.*, ii. p. 34.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

model of his church.[1] So numerous and costly were the presents of church vessels and vestments[2] which he made to his favourite basilica, that the splendour of its appointments must have well matched the marble glory of its buildings.

Without entering into further details regarding Leo's ceaseless work for the external glory of God's House—to restore, for the solemn worship of the Almighty, places which had become refuges for cattle[3]—it may suffice summarily to state that the result of his work and that of his predecessor was to impart a most refreshing lustre to the churches of Rome. Their rich presents to them of plate and vestments will have given a beauty and magnificence to the divine service which must have powerfully impressed the pilgrims who flocked to the Eternal City, and hence must have given a considerable impetus to the introduction and expansion of the arts of civilisation among the rising nationalities of Europe.

It has, however, been stated that one unfortunate result of the innumerable buildings undertaken by Hadrian and Leo was that the "execution of great designs became impossible, and a certain littleness is therefore everywhere perceptible in the buildings of the period."[4] The remark is perhaps misleading. Those two popes did certainly undertake innumerable building operations, but they were practically all in the way of restoration. Where they did not merely renew, they *enlarged*. So that littleness can scarcely be called a result of the work of Hadrian or of Leo. Any littleness they left behind them they had

[1] *Cf.* Ciampini, *Vet. Monim.*, ii. 140; *L. P.*, ii. 34; Marruchi, *Basiliques*, 380 f.

[2] *L. P.*, ii. nn. ix., lxxiv., ciii.

[3] *L. P.*, ii. n. xli.

[4] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 25. On the *Rome* of Leo III. see also Miley's *Hist. of the Papal States*, i. 343 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

found; but they left a new city where they had found but a mass of crumbling ruins.

Leo died in the month of June, and was buried in St. Peter's on June 12th (816), the day on which he is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology. "His," in the words of Gregorovius,[1] "was a powerful nature capable of shrewd reasonings and bold views. The brief moment in which he crowned the new emperor of the West in St. Peter's made him the instrument of the history of the world, and assured him an undying renown," as, we may add, the second founder with St. Gregory I. of the medieval papacy. The tomb of Pope Leo III. no longer exists. In the twelfth century his remains, along with those of popes Leo II. and Leo IV., were translated by Paschal II. to the oratory where, from the end of the seventh century, had reposed the body of St. Leo I., the Great. To-day, these same remains are to be found in an old sarcophagus, on which are reliefs of Christ and the Apostles, the sacrifice of Isaac, etc., beneath the altar of the chapel of the Madonna della Colonna in the right transept of the present St. Peter's.[2] Death of Leo, 816.

The silver grossos (*denarii*) of Leo, which are still extant, and which are modelled on those of the Franks, are significant of the union of Church and State which he made so close. They bear at once the names of Leo himself, of St. Peter, and either of Charlemagne (Carlus) or of Louis (Ludovvicus) *Ipa* (Imperator), as the case may be. All the examples of his coinage which have reached us are of this type, with one exception. The unique specimen gives, in place of the name Carlus, a figure of Charlemagne carrying the sword and standard, as protector of the Church.[3] Leo's coins.

[1] *Rome*, iii. 24.

[2] *L. P.*, ii. 48; Murray's *Handbook of Rome*, p. 247.

[3] Promis, *Monete dei R. P.*, p. 34 ff.; Cinagli, *Monete de' Papi*, p. 3. Among the works which Hoepli of Milan has in hand to publish by

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The coins of Leo's predecessor, evincing an altogether different political situation, are without the name of any other ruler but of Hadrian himself.

"order of His Holiness Pope Pius X." is, *Catalogo delle monete, bolle plumbee e medaglie dei Papi nella Bibl. Vaticana*, compilato dal. cav. C. Serafini. Much more will be generally known about the coins of the popes when this volume is ready.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

STEPHEN (IV.) V.

A.D. 816–817.

Sources.—The short reign of this Pope is matched by an equally short life in the *L. P.* Of this short *life* a substantial part is taken up with the offerings made by Stephen to various churches. To supplement the *Book of the Popes*, we must use the *lives* of Louis the Pious, by Theganus, chorepiscopus of Trèves, a partisan of Louis, who wrote *c.* 835 (ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.; *P. L.*, t. 106), and by an anonymous author, also a partisan of the emperor (ap. *M. G. SS.*, *ib.*; *P. L.*, t. 104). The latter says of himself that he was an astronomer, and lived in the palace of Louis. Hence he is often cited as 'Astronomus.' The *Annals* of Einhard, etc., must also be consulted, and the poem of Ermoldus Nigellus, the panegyrist (?) of Louis (ap. *M. G. SS.*, *ib.*; *P. L.*, t. 105, or *R. I. S.*, ii. pt. ii.). Ermoldus was a cleric of Aquitaine, and was perhaps chancellor to Pippin (†*c.* 838). He was certainly alive in 838. He wrote his poem in four books in 826.

Emperors of the East.	Emperors of the West.
Constantine VI. (Porphyrogenitus), 780–797.	Charlemagne (King of the Franks), 771–800.
Irene, 797–802.	(Emperor), 800–814.
Nicephorus, 802–811.	Louis, the Pious or Débonnaire, 814–840.
Michael I., 811–813.	
Leo V., 813–820.	

STEPHEN, a Roman and the son of Marinus, was a member of that noble family which, in the course of the ninth

Early career of Stephen.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

century, gave no fewer than three popes to the Church, viz., Stephen himself, Sergius II., and Hadrian II.[1] From his earliest youth he had been brought up in the Lateran palace under Pope Hadrian. To all the care lavished upon him the youthful Stephen faithfully corresponded, and, as a reward for his virtue and learning, Leo III. ordained him sub-deacon. As his advance in the way of virtue continued, the same Pope ordained him deacon. From that time forth Stephen devoted all his energies to promote the practice of the precepts of the Gospel both by word and work. His holiness was the common talk of the people. Hence they scarcely waited for the death of Leo to elect their beloved Stephen as his successor.[2] Amidst general rejoicings he was escorted to St. Peter's, and consecrated (June 22) ten days after the date of Leo's burial.

Though there is not evidence enough to compel such an inference, it is conceivable that, in their prompt election and consecration of Stephen, the Roman clergy had in view the anticipating of any imperial interference with their rights. At any rate, his election was as absolutely free as that of his predecessors from the time of Pope Zachary.

The Romans swear fidelity to Louis.

Still, of course, the emperor had his rights, and these the new Pope was anxious to acknowledge, and so his first act was to cause the Romans to take an oath of fidelity to Louis.[3] This he no doubt did, not only as an act of recognition on his own part of the position of Louis in Rome as emperor and protector of the Roman Church,

[1] The biographer of the last-named Pope speaks (c. i.) of him as "ex proximitatis genealogia b. recordationis quarti Stephani et Sergii junioris pontificum descendens."

[2] *L. P.* "Sicque factum est, ut dum de hac vita migraret Leo, illico . . . . Stephanus electus est."

[3] Thegan., *in vit. Lud*, c. 16. "Statim postquam pontificatum suscepit," etc.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

but also to remind the turbulent party among the Romans that there was a powerful suzerain over them who wielded a sharper sword than did the Pope. But it is certain that he did not make the people take this oath, because he wished to proclaim that he was not himself their ruler. For we shall see later that the Roman people swore to be faithful to the emperor, "saving the obedience they owed to the Pope."

Stephen notifies his election, etc., to him.

Stephen's next step was to send envoys to inform Louis of his consecration.[1] Though his election had been perfectly free, it was only just that the emperor, as his temporal overlord, should be duly informed of his canonical installation. Besides, his views could be more easily stated by word of mouth if Louis were to express any dissatisfaction at not having been allowed any voice in the matter. The envoys were also commissioned[2] to notify the emperor that an interview with him, wherever might be convenient to him, would be acceptable to their master. It is difficult to tell with certainty whether the wish for the meeting proceeded in the first instance from the emperor, anxious to be crowned by the Pope, or from the latter, desirous of obtaining certain privileges from his powerful protector.[3] According to Stephen's biographer, he undertook the

[1] He sent envoys "qui quasi pro sua consecratione imperatori suggerent." *Ann. Einhard.*, an. 816. The anonymous biographer of Louis (c. 26) would imply that Stephen offered some apology for what had been done. He sent envoys, "qui super ordinatione ejus imperatori satisfacerent." But, for the earlier details of Louis's life, the Astronomer's authority is not great, and cannot be compared to that of the official annals. Besides, as Duchesne notes (*L. P.*, ii. 50), his work was written at a time (*c.* 840) when the Western emperors had begun to claim the right of confirmation. It is easy, therefore, to understand how he would be instinctively led into using a mode of expressing earlier facts in terms which were strictly only applicable to later. Bayet (*Les élect. pont. sous les Carol.*, Paris, 1883, p. 26) believes that the passage in the Annals has reference to the consecration *of the emperor.*

[2] Thegan., *l. c.*

[3] *Cf. infra*, p. 115.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

journey "for the sake of confirming the peace and unity of the Church."

Stephen crosses the Alps.

However all this may be, certain it is that the Pope set out for Francia in the month of August, in company with Bernard, the king of Italy, who was acting under the emperor's orders.[1] It is to be supposed that, like his namesake who had made the journey before him, he would cross the Alps by the pass of the great St. Bernard, and would rest his weary limbs after the long and dangerous climb at the abbey of St. Maurice on the Rhone. The reception he met with from the emperor was so honourable that "the tongue is scarce able to recount it."[2] Louis, who had been filled with joy when he heard of the Pope's intention to come to him,[3] sent forward his archchaplain, Hildebald, Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, and John, bishop of Arles, to meet him; whilst he himself, says Ermoldus, drew up in order to meet the Pope, the clergy, 'people, and Senate.'

Meets Louis at Rheims, Oct. 816.

It was about a mile from the city of Rheims that Louis and the Pope met. Both at once dismounted from their horses. "In honour of God and St. Peter,"[4] the emperor thrice prostrated himself before the successor of the Prince of the Apostles, and saluted him with the words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! the Lord our

[1] *Ann Einh.*, and the Anon., ll. cc. *Cf.* also *Ann. Xanten.*, etc.

[2] *L. P.*, n. ii.

[3] Thegan., *l. c.* "Quod (Stephen's proposed journey) audiens, imperator magno tripudio cœpit gaudere."

[4] "Tamquam b. Petri vicarium honestissime suscepit." Anon., *in vit. Lud.*, *l. c.* "Princeps se prosternens omni corpore in terram tribus vicibus ante pedes tanti pontificis." Thegan., *l. c.* The contemporary poetical biographer speaks to the same effect (l. ii. p. 38, ed. *R. I. S.*, ii. pt. ii.).

"Rex tamen ante sagax flexato poplite adorat
Terque quaterque, Dei sive in honore Petri."

Surely the high motives which have always prompted kings to show these marked acts of respect to the popes ought to make modern authors pause, when they would describe them as *abject* prostrations.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

God has shone down upon us!" "Blessed be the Lord our God," replied the Pope, "who has given me to see with my eyes a second King David!" When they had embraced each other, the emperor led the Pope to the Church of St. Remy, which was outside the city, where the Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving.

Crowns Louis.

On the following Sunday, after a day or two had been spent in feastings (*prægustant munera Bacchi*, sings the poet), "before Mass, in presence of the clergy and all the people, Stephen consecrated and anointed Louis emperor and placed upon his head a golden crown of wondrous beauty and adorned with most precious stones, which he had brought with him, and which Nigellus says had belonged to Constantine the Great! He also placed a golden crown on the head of Queen Irmengard and saluted her as Augusta."[1]

What is to be thought of the Pope's action?

There are to-day not wanting authors who, regarding the popes with other eyes than those with which they were regarded by Charlemagne, Louis, and their contemporaries, contend that this act of Stephen was simply a gratuitous interference. Louis, it is urged, had been crowned emperor by his father[2]; but Stephen, fearing that, if he were not to have a share in his imperial coronation, crowning by the Pope would not in future be thought necessary to constitute an emperor, took upon himself to tell Louis that he would come and crown him, and actually did so, regardless of his

[1] Thegan., c. 17; *cf.* Astron., *in vit. Lud.*, c. 26. *Ann. Xanten.*, 815. "Fecit benedictionem imperialem super Ludewicum et . . . . Ermingardam."

[2] September 10, 813. By crowning his son himself, Charlemagne "seemed emphatically to indicate to future generations that no intervention of the Roman Pontiff . . . . was necessary in order to create a Roman Imperator." Hodgkin, *Italy, etc.*, viii. 265. But the act of Charlemagne only made an associate in his power. It was an act similar to that by which properly constituted Roman emperors themselves named co-emperors or subordinate Cæsars.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

likes or dislikes. Plastic as Louis was, it is too much to suppose that he was such a puppet as to allow himself to be treated in so high-handed a fashion. What Stephen did, he must have accomplished with the full and hearty concurrence of the emperor and the Frankish nobility.

No contemporary evidence is available to show that at this time there was any received opinion anywhere as to what was or was not necessary to constitute the chief of the 'revived empire' of the West. It may, however, be regarded as certain that the Franks looked to *Rome* as the natural source of empire, and that to them Rome meant the Pope. From the view taken by them of the position of the sovereign pontiff at this period, there can be no doubt that just as they considered him competent to decide who should be their king, so they regarded it as equally within his power to make an emperor. While Louis and the Franks would be satisfied with such coronation as he had received as long as the Pope-crowned Charlemagne lived, they would not be content that the Roman, *i.e.* the papal, sanction should be wanting when Charlemagne was no more. And so, whether or not Stephen used the words, or anything like them, which Ermoldus puts into his mouth when crowning Louis, the poet voices in them the general feeling as to the source of empire: "Rome, O Cæsar, presents you with the gift of Peter!"[1] Though most of the sources imply at least that Stephen set out for France on his own initiative, and though even Ermoldus once[2] seems to imply the same thing, it is more than likely that what the poet states

[1] "Roma tibi, Cæsar, transmittit munera Petri.
. . . . . .
Hoc (the crown) tibi Petrus ovans cessit, mitissime, donum."
Ermold., *l. c.*, p. 42.

[2] "Quæ te (Stephen) causa tulit (Cæsar sic orsus) ad istam
Francorum patriam? Redde responsa mihi." *Ib.*, p. 39.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

twice[1] elsewhere is the fact; viz., that Stephen left Rome to comply with the expressed wishes of Louis. And, no doubt, while he sent for the Pope with a view of confirming the privileges of his See, he wanted him in turn to be his powerful support by confirming him in the empire.[2] So that it may be said that Louis was simply emperor, 'elect or designate,' till he had been formally crowned by the Pope. "The right to this crowning was indeed hereditary, and the heir to the throne could assume the title of emperor[3]; but the crowning was necessary to invest him legally with this high dignity. Thus was it understood throughout the middle ages. So necessary was the crowning thought to be, that, even after the sixteenth century, the emperors of Germany, when they no longer caused themselves to be crowned, simply took the title of Roman emperor elect, *erwoehlter roemischer Kaiser*, which marked them off from the emperors by divine right."[4]

Louis's presents to the Pope.

As a return for the favour of his coronation, Louis, to use the phrase of a contemporary annalist,[5] 'remunerated' the Pope with many presents. Chief among them was an estate (*curtis*) which the emperor bestowed on the Roman Church from his own private property. This *curtis* was most likely identical with the 'villa Vendopera,' or Vandeuvre (between Troyes and Bar-sur-Aube). Hincmar (*Ann.*, 865) assures us that it had been given by the

[1] "Tum jubet acciri Romana ab sede patronum." *Ib.*, p. 37. See the following note.

[2] "Hæc est causa (the confirmation of the privileges of the Roman See, etc.), Sacer, qua te accersire rogavi
Adjutor fortis esto, beate, mihi." *Ib.*

[3] Hence Louis dated his charters from his father's death (January 28, 814), and not from his coronation by either his father or the Pope. *Cf.* his first two charters, ap. Boretius, i. 261 f.

[4] Warnkoening et Gerard, *Hist. des Carol.*, i. 324.

[5] *Ann. Moissac.*, ad an. "(Papa) imposuit illi coronam auream, remuneravitque eum domnus imperator muneribus multis."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

emperor Louis 'to St Peter,' and Charles the Bald, helped Nicholas I. to wrest it from a certain Count Wigo who had for some years been reaping on the Pope's land what he certainly had not sown.[1]

Renewal of the *pact* between the Franks and the Holy See.

Before Louis and Stephen parted, they had long conferences together, and the treaty of friendship which had already been struck more than once between the popes and the rulers of the Franks was again renewed.[2] And such favour did Stephen find in the emperor's eyes that he gave him whatever he asked.[3] More definitely, we are informed by the poet Nigellus that Louis confirmed the privileges of the Roman Church, and caused the chancellor Helisachar to draw up documentary evidence of the fact, as he was anxious for the property of St. Peter ever to remain intact.[4]

Theodulf of Orleans is granted the pallium.

It is supposed that, whilst Stephen was at Rheims, he gave the pallium to Theodulf, bishop of Orleans. The pallium was indeed sometimes given to bishops, who were thereby authorised to take the title of archbishop, a title that is found given to Theodulf in some of the diplomas of the emperor Louis. On the strength of this gift, Theodulf maintained that he had the same right as a metropolitan of not being judged without an order from the Pope.[5]

[1] *L. P.*, ii. 50.

[2] *Ann. Einhard.*, an. 816. "Amicitia vicissim firmissimo robore constituta."

[3] Agnellus, *in vit. Mart.*, n. 170; *L. P.*

[4] "Ut res ecclesiæ Petri, Sedisque perennis
Inlæsæ vigeant semper honore Dei . . . .
Hæc est causa, Sacer, qua te accersire rogavi."

Nigellus, *l. c.*, p. 42. It has been thought possible that Nigellus may have confused this deed with the donation to Paschal.

[5] Theod., *Carm.*, iv. 5, ad Modoinum:

"Solius illud opus Romani Pontificis extat,
Cujus ego accepi pallia sancta manu."

The poems of Theodulf may be read, among many other places, ap. *Max. Bib. Vet. Pat.*, t. xvi., ed. Paris, 1644. *Cf.* Cuissard, *Théodulfe*, p. 92.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Loaded with presents many times greater than those he had himself given to the emperor, and accompanied by envoys[1] of Louis, the Pope set out for Rome (October 816). He was also attended by a number of liberated political prisoners. "In imitation[2] of Our Saviour, who redeemed us from the captivity of the devil, the Pope brought back with him, as a sign of the goodness of the Church (*pro pietate Ecclesiæ*), all the exiles who, for their crimes against the Roman Church and Pope Leo, were there detained in captivity." Stephen returns to Rome.

On his way home the Pope visited Ravenna. The archbishop Martin, who had shown himself somewhat restive under Pope Leo, was all submission. Stephen said Mass in the 'Basilica Ursiana,' or cathedral founded by St. Ursus, archbishop of Ravenna in the fourth century, and exhibited for the veneration of the people "the sandals[3] of Our Saviour"—a relic of which mention is again made in the life of Pope Nicholas by Anastasius. The sandals of Our Lord.

Stephen reached Rome before the close of the month of November. After holding the usual ordinations of bishops and priests in the month of December, and confirming[4] to Death of Stephen.

[1] Thegan., c. 17.

[2] *L. P.* The motive assigned by the Pope's contemporary biographer for this generous conduct does not satisfy either Milman or Gregorovius. The latter (*Rome*, iii. 34) thinks that he brought the exiles back "as a solatium to the discontented Romans."

[3] Agnellus, *in vit. Martini*, *l.c.* I regret that I have no information to offer regarding this curious relic, but can only note that the emperor John Tzimisces, in the following century, in a letter preserved by Matthew of Edessa (c. 16), says that he found the sandals of Our Lord at Gabaon, north of Jerusalem. According to Leo, the deacon, they were placed in the imperial palace of Our Lady of Pharos. Great festivals were held in their honour at Constantinople. In the *Chron. S. Hubert.*, c. 25 (35), ap. *P. L.*, t. 154, they are said to be in the chapel of S. Lawrence in the Lateran palace.

[4] *Chron. Farf.*, *R. I. S.*, ii. pt. ii. This document is set down as written by the 'scrinarius' Christopher, and 'given' on January 23 by the nomenclator Theodore, in the third year of the emperor Louis and the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the famous monastery of St. Mary of Farfa its possessions, on condition of the daily recitation by the monks of one hundred "Kyrie Eleisons for our sins," and of a yearly payment to the Roman Church of ten golden solidi, he died on January 24, 817. He was buried, according to the usual custom, in St. Peter's.

Decree concerning the presence of imperial legates at the Pope's consecration.

Among the decrees of Gratian[1] there is one 'of Pope Stephen,' which by different authors is either pronounced spurious, or is variously attributed to Stephen V., Eugenius II., Stephen (VI.) VII., or John IX. One thing seems certain, and that is, that the decree was not the work of Stephen V. The decree ascribes the tumults that take place on the death of a Pope to the absence of the imperial legates at the Pope's consecration; sets forth that the presence of the legates was in accordance with canon law and custom, and decrees that the one who has been elected by the clergy, "in presence of the senate and people," should be consecrated "in the presence of the imperial legates." Now it is certain that Stephen's successor was consecrated without the presence of the imperial envoys; that no appeal to 'custom' could have been put forth by Stephen V. (as Charlemagne had never had an opportunity as emperor of sending envoys to the consecration of a Pope), and that, from 741–817, there was no waiting for the arrival of imperial legates before the consecration was performed. Moreover, we have the express declaration of Florus, the deacon of Lyons, who, about the year 829, wrote

tenth Indiction. According to the same chronicle, the obligation of this payment was removed by Pope Paschal I., at the request of the emperor Lothaire, as this monastery enjoyed the privilege of the imperial protection. (Muratori, *Annal.*, ad an. 817). The document is also given in *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 973. There is certainly extant a charter of Paschal (dated February 1, 817—ap. Muratori and *P. L.*, *ib.*) in which there is no mention of the 'solidi.' (*Cf.* Gregorovius, iii. 44, 5).

[1] Jaffé, *Regesta*, sub an. 816, and there marked as spurious.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a leaflet on the election of bishops, to the effect that "in the Roman Church we see that the pontiffs are lawfully consecrated without any (previous) consulting with the royal authority (*absque interrogatione principis*), but solely in accordance with the disposition of Divine Providence and the votes of the faithful."[1]

No doubt, then, the decree in question is the work not of Stephen V., but of John IX.; for it is the same as the one issued by the Council of Rome (can 10), held in 898 under his presidency. It was evidently assigned to a Pope of the name of Stephen, through a mistake which originated in the fact that *acts* of the council of John IX., where it is found, begin with the words, "Synodum tempore . . . . sexti Stephani."[2]

Coins (?) of Stephen V.

It seems very doubtful whether any specimens of the coinage of Stephen V. have survived to modern times. Cinagli,[3] indeed, assigns two silver denarii to this Pope on MS. authority. Promis,[4] however, while pointing out that they are not, as supposed, in the Chigi collection, believes that they really are the production of Pope Valentine.

[1] *Lib. de elect. Epp.*, c. 6, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 14. If it be urged that Nicholas I. (*Conc. Rom.*, an. 862) speaks of the "council of the most Blessed Pope Stephen" on freedom of election, he is referring to the decree of Stephen (III.) IV. in 769.

[2] Lapôtre, *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, p. 211 n.

[3] P. 3.

[4] Pp. 51, 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PASCHAL I

A.D. 817–824.

Sources.—Again the *iife* in the *L. P.* is almost completely taken up with recording work done by the Pope in connection with various churches both within and without the city. In fact, it is so occupied with details of that kind that not a single political action of the Pope's is even alluded to. Hence, when certain authors, anxious to find arguments against the authenticity of the emperor Louis's confirmatory donation of territory, etc., to the popes, write, "Of the deed of Louis [1] there is not a single syllable in the *Liber Pontificalis*," there is not an atom of force in the remark as an argument. Louis himself is not as much as mentioned in the *life*, nor is any single one of the political actions performed by the Pope. Hence we have to fall back upon the *Annals*, the *lives* of Louis, etc., and some half dozen letters or fragments of letters of Paschal, to be found, as usual, in the collections of *Councils*, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 977 seq.; *M. G. Epp.*, v. 68 ff.

For the affairs of the East, of the first importance are still the letters of Theodore the Studite, on whom see Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople*, p. 244 ff., a work at once able, well-informed, and most interesting.

Modern Works.—*S. Agoboard, sa vie et ses écrits*, by M. l'Abbé Chevallard (Paris, 1869), is a most agreeable and valuable book. It throws a flood of clear light on the reign of the emperor Louis, and on the relations of the popes to the empire during his weak and unhappy rule.

[1] Gregorovius, iii. 37.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EMPERORS OF THE EAST. EMPEROR OF THE WEST.

Leo V. (the Armenian), 813–820. Louis I., the Pious, 814–840.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.

Contemporary portraits of Paschal.

NO careful observer, who in a visit to Rome goes to see the principal churches, can fail to have the name of at least one of the popes of the early Middle Ages impressed upon him. He will soon realise that the monogram of Paschal I. is familiar to him, and that he has seen his portrait in a contemporary mosaic more than once. Should interest in the Greek rite have led him to mount the Celian to visit the Titular Church of S. Maria-in-Domnica,[1] one of the very oldest churches in Rome, he will have seen a great ninth century mosaic covering the vaulted roof of the apse, and representing Our Lady seated on a throne with the Divine Child on her knees and surrounded by angels. Kneeling on a step of the throne is a small figure, holding in his hands the right foot of the Virgin. It is that of Pope Paschal, whose monogram appears in a medallion above the figure of Our Lady. Beneath it an inscription proclaims that the church, which was falling to ruins, now shines resplendent, adorned with golden mosaic work. Its glory is as that of the sun in the heavens when it has driven away the dark veil of night. Mary, Virgin, it is for you that the venerable Pontiff Paschal has built in gladness of heart this house to endure through the ages.[2]

[1] Called also from the sixteenth century S. Maria della Navicella. It received this name from the model boat in marble which stands in front of the church, and which Leo X. put in place of an *ex-voto* to Jupiter redux.

[2] "Ista domus pridem fuerat confracta ruinis
Nunc rutilat jugiter variis decorata metallis
Et decus ecce suus splendet ceu Phœbus in orbe
Qui post furva fugans tetræ velamina noctis
Virgo Maria tibi Paschalis præsul honestus
Condedit hanc aulam lætus per sæcula manendam."

Cf. De Jouy, *Les Mosaïques Chrét.*, p. 60; Marucchi, *Eléments d'arch.*, iii. 217 ff.; *L. P.*, *in vit.*, n. xi., and ii. p. 65.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PASCHAL I

A.D. 817–824.

Sources.—Again the *iife* in the *L. P.* is almost completely taken up with recording work done by the Pope in connection with various churches both within and without the city. In fact, it is so occupied with details of that kind that not a single political action of the Pope's is even alluded to. Hence, when certain authors, anxious to find arguments against the authenticity of the emperor Louis's confirmatory donation of territory, etc., to the popes, write, "Of the deed of Louis [1] there is not a single syllable in the *Liber Pontificalis*," there is not an atom of force in the remark as an argument. Louis himself is not as much as mentioned in the *life*, nor is any single one of the political actions performed by the Pope. Hence we have to fall back upon the *Annals*, the *lives* of Louis, etc., and some half dozen letters or fragments of letters of Paschal, to be found, as usual, in the collections of *Councils*, or ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 977 seq.; *M. G. Epp.*, v. 68 ff.

For the affairs of the East, of the first importance are still the letters of Theodore the Studite, on whom see Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople*, p. 244 ff., a work at once able, well-informed, and most interesting.

Modern Works.—*S. Agoboard, sa vie et ses écrits*, by M. l'Abbé Chevallard (Paris, 1869), is a most agreeable and valuable book. It throws a flood of clear light on the reign of the emperor Louis, and on the relations of the popes to the empire during his weak and unhappy rule.

[1] Gregorovius, iii. 37.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Emperors of the East.	Emperor of the West.
Leo V. (the Armenian), 813–820.	Louis I., the Pious, 814–840.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	

Contemporary portraits of Paschal.

NO careful observer, who in a visit to Rome goes to see the principal churches, can fail to have the name of at least one of the popes of the early Middle Ages impressed upon him. He will soon realise that the monogram of Paschal I. is familiar to him, and that he has seen his portrait in a contemporary mosaic more than once. Should interest in the Greek rite have led him to mount the Celian to visit the Titular Church of S. Maria-in-Domnica,[1] one of the very oldest churches in Rome, he will have seen a great ninth century mosaic covering the vaulted roof of the apse, and representing Our Lady seated on a throne with the Divine Child on her knees and surrounded by angels. Kneeling on a step of the throne is a small figure, holding in his hands the right foot of the Virgin. It is that of Pope Paschal, whose monogram appears in a medallion above the figure of Our Lady. Beneath it an inscription proclaims that the church, which was falling to ruins, now shines resplendent, adorned with golden mosaic work. Its glory is as that of the sun in the heavens when it has driven away the dark veil of night. Mary, Virgin, it is for you that the venerable Pontiff Paschal has built in gladness of heart this house to endure through the ages.[2]

[1] Called also from the sixteenth century S. Maria della Navicella. It received this name from the model boat in marble which stands in front of the church, and which Leo X. put in place of an *ex-voto* to Jupiter redux.

[2] "Ista domus pridem fuerat confracta ruinis
Nunc rutilat jugiter variis decorata metallis
Et decus ecce suus splendet ceu Phœbus in orbe
Qui post furva fugans tetræ velamina noctis
Virgo Maria tibi Paschalis præsul honestus
Condedit hanc aulam lætus per sæcula manendam."

Cf. De Jouy, *Les Mosaïques Chrét.*, p. 60; Marucchi, *Eléments d'arch.*, iii. 217 ff.; *L. P.*, *in vit.*, n. xi., and ii. p. 65.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Should his piety have drawn him to the Church of S. Prassede (or Praxedes), which dates back to the age of the great persecutions, and of which Paschal had been the titular, to pray before the column at which tradition tells Our Lord was scourged, he will have found many reminders of that 'shrewd and energetic'[1] Pope. Again will he have observed the ceiling of the apse aglow with golden mosaic work. On the right of Our Saviour, who occupies the centre, is the figure of a man clad in a loose garment of cloth of gold. Holding out his hands beneath this vestment, he is supporting the model of a church. Again, both a monogram and an inscription let us know that we are gazing on the features of Paschal.[2] In the chapel of S. Zeno, wherein is the sacred column, there is not only an inscription[3] to tell us that it owes its decorations to the 'pious vows' of Pope Paschal, but also a half-length figure in mosaic, with a square nimbus bearing the name and curious title of Theodora, *Episcopa*. In this medallion we have a portrait of the Pope's mother.[4]

Finally, if his love of music should have carried our

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 37.

[2] The inscription, besides setting forth that Paschal decorated the church, adds that he placed in it the bodies of S. Praxedes and others, hoping to gain heaven by their intercession:

"Emicat aula piæ variis decorata metallis,
Pontificis summi studio Paschalis alumni
Plurima s̄corum subter hæc mœnia ponit,
Praxedis Dn̄o super æthra placentis honore
Sedis Apostolicæ, passim qui corpora condens
Fretus ut his limen mereatur adire polorum."

Cf. De Jouy, p. 67; Marucchi, p. 328; *L. P.*, ii. 63. Of the four readings of this inscription which I have consulted, none of which quite agrees with the others, I have given that of De Jouy.

[3] "Paschalis præsulis opus decor(e) fulget in aula
Quod pia optulit vota studuit reddere Dō. Ps. Cal."

[4] Marucchi, p. 332, etc.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

observer across the Tiber on a pilgrimage to the church of its patron, S. Cecily, *in Trastevere*, he would have once more been confronted with a great apsidal mosaic. With her right hand on Paschal's right shoulder, S. Cecily is seen presenting him to Our Lord, who is giving his blessing in the Greek fashion. Again is the Pope distinguished by the square nimbus of life, and represented as holding a model of the church. Monogram and inscription proclaim the handiwork of Paschal. In language closely akin to the others we have quoted, the latter tells how the Pope repaired and beautified the church, brightened its apse (*hæc dindima templi*) with mosaics, and brought hither from the catacombs the bodies of S. Cecily and her companions.[1] In the same church there is a fresco representing the apparition of S. Cecily to Pope Paschal, of which mention will be made in the sequel. This, however, will not help us to form an idea of Paschal's personal appearance, inasmuch as it was not painted till about the twelfth century.

All the contemporary mosaics represent him as tall, with large eyes, long face, beardless and tonsured. He is in each case also depicted as clad in a tunic reaching to his feet and ornamented with two long stripes, and wearing a white pallium, with little crosses in red.

Paschal in the *Liber Pontificalis.*

The Pontiff, whose figure is to-day so prominent on

1 "Hæc domus ampla micat variis decorata metallis
Olim quæ fuerat confracta sub tempore prisco
Condidit in melius Paschalis præsul opimus
Hanc aulam Domini firmans fundamine claro
Aurea gemmatis resonant hæc dindima templi
Lætus amore Dei hic conjunxit corpora sancta
Cæciliæ et sociis rutilat hic flore juventus
Quæ pridem in cryptis pausabant membra beata
Roma resultat ovans semper ornata per ævum."

Marucchi's version, with which that of Duchesne agrees. De Jouy, however, gives *socii* in line seven.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the walls of the churches in Rome, was in his time no less distinguished in the world, both by his character and his works. In language borrowed from the biographies of Leo III. and Gregory II., and hence, perhaps to some extent at least, made to fit Paschal, a very flattering character is given to him in the *Liber Pontificalis*. There we are told that the young Roman, the child of Bonosus and Theodora, devoted himself to sacred studies in the school of the Lateran palace, and became not only an adept in church music, but especially learned both in the Old and New Testament. His virtues procured for him his ordination to the priesthood. Among these virtues his piety, modesty, cheerfulness, eloquence, hospitality, love of the poor, and his ready but discriminating charity towards them are especially noted. He was also devoted to prayer and fasting, was a most careful observer of the canons, merciful but just, and a great lover of the churches and of his people. We are also told that he largely increased the donative the popes were wont to give to the clergy, and that he spent large sums of money in redeeming captives in Spain and other far distant lands—captives made by the Saracen pirates—and, "like a good and true shepherd," bringing them back to their homes. At least before he became Pope, and had more leisure, he was very fond of holding converse with holy monks or others on pious subjects. His well-deserved reputation led Leo III. to make him superior of the monastery of S. Stephen the protomartyr, near St. Peter's. In this position his hospitality found abundant scope in looking after the poor pilgrims, who, "for love of Blessed Peter, the apostle, came from distant climes to his shrine." [1]

Elected Pope, 817.

So beloved by all was he for his distinguished merits

[1] All this, and more to the same effect, may be read in the *L.P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that, by divine inspiration,[1] he was unanimously elected Pope by the concurrent voice of clergy and people, and consecrated (January 25, 817) the very day after the death of Stephen. He at once forwarded to the emperor notice of his accession. The anonymous author of the *life* of Louis says[2] that Paschal "sent envoys to the emperor with presents and an apologetic letter (*epistola apologetica*), in which he pointed out that he had accepted the dignity of the papacy, rather moved thereto by the election and acclamation of the people than urged by any personal ambition." This 'apologetic letter' is called by Einhard a 'letter of excuse.' It must be noted, however, that it is not an apology or excuse for his consecration without the emperor's consent, but a humble explanation of his accepting the great honour at all. For Einhard himself sums up the contents of the letter by saying[3] that the Pope averred that "the honour had been, as it were, thrust upon him,[4] though he did not want it, and often refused it." Hence even Muratori concludes that it is perfectly plain that up to this period none of the agreements entered into beween the popes and the Frank sovereigns included any condition that the popes should not be consecrated without the consent of the Western emperors.

Soon after the despatch of the first, Paschal sent a second

The diploma 'Ego Ludovicus,' 817.

[1] "Una voluntate, divino interveniente consultu, a cunctis sacerdotibus seu proceribus, atque et omni clero, necnon et optimatibus, vel cuncto populo Romano . . . . in Sedem Apostolicam elevatus est." *Ib.*

[2] C. 27.

[3] *Annal.*, ad an. 817. "In qua (excusatoria epistola) sibi non solum nolenti, sed etiam plurimum renitenti pontificatus honorem velut impactum adseverat."

[4] *Annal.*, ad an. 817. We are still within the period when, as Sickel (p. xxiii.) puts it in his introduction to his ed. of the *Liber Diurnus*, the papal elections were wholly free—*ordinatio re-vera libera*. During this period (752–817) the Frankish rulers were simply informed by formula 82 of the election.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

embassy[1] to Louis, of which the nomenclator Theodore was the chief. The embassy requested that "the agreement or treaty (*pactum*), which had been made with his predecessors, might be renewed with him." The request was granted. These same ambassadors are credited with bringing back a 'donation' from Louis on the lines of those of Pippin and Charlemagne. The authenticity of this diploma, which begins 'Ego Ludovicus,' is altogether denied by some, as by Pagi and Muratori, and affirmed by others.[2] Some[3] take a middle course, and hold that the diploma, as we now have it, contains falsifications. This is the modern line of those who do not accept it unreservedly. The document may be read among those collected by Cardinal Deusdedit[4] towards the end of the eleventh century, and in many other authors.[5] Our quotations will be from the copy in Theiner, who has used the text of Cencius Camerarius (thirteenth century).[6]

The constitution begins: "I, Louis, Emperor Augustus, decree and grant by this deed of our confirmation to you,

[1] Einhard, *ib.* "Missa tamen alia legatione, pactum quod cum præcessoribus suis factum erat, etiam secum fieri et firmari rogavit. . . . Et ea quæ petierat impetravit." *Cf.* the anonymous *Vit. Lud.*, c. 27. In reference to the relations between the popes and the Frankish emperors, it may be observed in passing that sovereigns do not make treaties with their subjects!

[2] Hergenroether, *Hist. de l'Égl.*, iii. 164 n., thinks that the diploma does not present anything which can be seriously alleged against its authenticity.

[3] *Cf.* Gregorovius, *Rome*, bk. v., c. 1, § 4, and the authors there cited.

[4] *Collect. Can.*, iii. 150, ed. Martinucci, Venet. 1869.

[5] *E.g.* in Cenni, *Mon. Dom. Pontif.*, ii., reprinted in *P. L.*, t. 98, p. 579 f.; Boretius, *Capit.*, i. p. 353. The latter regards the diploma as authentic in the main, but thinks the clause about the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily has been changed or inserted. According to Kleinclausz, its authenticity "est aujourd'hui démontrée, du moins pour le fond," p. 286 n.

[6] Inserted by him in his famous *Lib. Censuum*. *Cf.* ed. Fabre, p. 363.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and through you to your Vicar the Lord Paschal, supreme Pontiff and universal Pope, and to your successors for ever, the city of Rome and its duchy and dependencies (which are then named), as up to this time they have been held by you and your predecessors under your authority and jurisdiction." Next, the Pope is confirmed in the possession of the exarchate, Æmilia, and the Pentapolis, which Pippin and Charlemagne had "by deed of gift[1] restored to his predecessors," and he is granted the Sabine territory and the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily, with various cities of Lombard Tuscany, and Campania, "and the patrimonies[2] that belong to your authority and jurisdiction, as that of Beneventum and Salerno, that of upper and lower Calabria, and that of Naples, and wherever, throughout the kingdom and empire committed by God to us, your patrimonies are known to be."

In like manner Louis confirms the donations which Pippin and Charles 'spontaneously' offered (*spontanea voluntate*), and the revenues which were wont annually to be paid into the palace of the Lombard kings, both from Lombard Tuscany and from the Duchy of Spoleto, "as is set forth in the above-mentioned donations and was agreed upon between Pope Hadrian and Charlemagne, when that Pontiff came[3] to an understanding with him

[1] "Exarchatum Ravennatum, etc. . . . . quæ Pipinus . . . . ac . . . . Karolus . . . . predecessoribus vestris jamdudum per donationis paginam restituerunt. Theiner, *Cod. Diplom.*, i.

[2] "Et patrimonia ad potestatem et ditionem vestram pertinentia, sicut est pat. Beneventanum et Salernitanum, et pat. Calabriæ inf. et sup., et pat. Neapolitanum, et ubicumque in partibus regni atque imperii a Deo nobis commissi patrimonia vestra esse noscuntur." *Ib.*

[3] "Firmamus . . . . censum et pensiones, ... quæ annuatim in palatium Regis Longob. inferri solebant, sive de Tuscia Longob., sive de ducatu Spoletano, sicut in suprascriptis donationibus continetur, et inter S. M. Had. p. et . . . . Karolum convenit, quando idem

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

concerning the two duchies of Tuscany and Spoleto, to the effect that every year the above-mentioned revenues should be paid to the Church of Blessed Peter, but that the emperor's supreme dominion over those duchies was to be preserved."

All the above territories, etc., were to remain under the jurisdiction of the Pope and his successors, and were not in any way to be interfered with by Louis or his descendants, but rather defended; nor were they to assume[1] any rights in the said territories, etc., except when requested by the Pope of the time.

On the death of a Pope, no Frank nor Lombard is to cause any trouble; but the Romans, "with all veneration and without any tumult" (most seasonable words for the childishly turbulent Romans), were to duly elect and consecrate a successor to him. After the consecration, envoys were to be sent to the Frankish rulers, to renew "the friendship and peace"[2] that had existed between them and the popes during the reigns of Charles (Martel), Pippin, and Charlemagne.

The diploma signed by Louis himself his three sons, ten bishops, eight abbots, fifteen counts, a bibliothecarius

pontifex eidem de suprascriptis ducatibus, idest Tuscano et Spoletano, suæ auctoritatis præceptum confirmavit, eo scilicet modo ut annis singulis prædictus census ecclesiæ b. Petri A. persolvatur, salva super eosdem ducatus nostra in omnibus dominatione et illorum ad nostram partem subjectione." *Ib.*

[1] "Nullamque in eis nobis partem aut potestatem disponendi vel judicandi subtrahendive, aut minorandi vendicamus, nisi quando ab illo, qui eo tempore hujus S. Ecclesiæ regimen tenuerit, rogati fuerimus." *Ib.*

[2] Hence Paschal could write to Louis with full confidence to remind him of his engagements, and to exhort him to defend, as he would his own, the property of St. Peter situated in his domains: "Memento votionum sanctarum quas ad honorem S. Petri . . . . promisisti, et hujus rei gratia causas S. Petri sitas in vestra dicione velud propriâ defende." Ep., ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 68.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(librarian), a mansionarius (a sort of sacristan), and a hostiarius (an apparitor), was sent to Pope Paschal by the nomenclator Theodore.

Arguments against the authenticity of this Act.

It is urged against the authenticity of this diploma that it gives to the popes Sicily, which was at the time in the hands of the Greek emperors, and never came into the possession of the Carolingian emperors, and that, despite the clause on freedom of pontifical elections, Gregory IV. (827–844) and other popes were not consecrated until the arrival of the imperial envoys. Other points of minor importance are also brought forward.

Replies to them.

Against this it is pointed out that perhaps the largest of the papal 'patrimonies,' used to be in Sicily; that they (along with those in Calabria) had been unjustly confiscated by the Greek iconoclast emperors, and hence that there is no reason for calling in question that the emperor Louis might, as an act of compensation, offer to give the popes the whole island, "if ever[1] it should come into his power" —words actually used in the diplomas of the emperors Otho I. and Henry I. Or it may be supposed, in accordance with the text of the two 'privileges' just mentioned, that there was in this instance only reference to the 'patrimony' in Sicily.

The clause on the freedom of elections was modified in 824 by the constitution[2] of Lothaire (the son of Louis, and co-emperor with him), which was drawn up with the full consent of Eugenius II. Hence the clause really tells in favour of the authenticity of the diploma, as up to that time the elections had 'de facto' been free, and the diploma was legislating on existing lines.

Arguments for the authenticity.

That some document was sent by Louis to the Pope

[1] "Si Deus nostris illud (patrimonium Siciliæ) tradiderit manibus." *Privil.* Ottonis I., ap. Theiner, p. 4.

[2] *M. G. Capit.*, ed. Boretius, i. p. 323. *Cf. infra*, p. 163.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

bearing on the 'donation question' is clear enough from the words of Einhard (ad an. 817) cited above, and still clearer from the words of John VIII.[1] to the Roman synod in 875, where he speaks of the great emperor Louis, who not only equalled his ancestors in their liberality towards the Head of the Church and confirmed what they had done, but even increased their donations by most munificent gifts. And if the deed of Louis is not mentioned in that of Otho I., it is in that of Henry I. We conclude, then, in harmony with the general consensus of modern opinion, that it is substantially authentic, as it is in substantial agreement with the 'deeds' of Otho and Henry, and throws light on the donation of Charlemagne. For it shows[2] that, by some later agreement between Hadrian and Charlemagne, the supreme dominion over Lombard Tuscany, and the duchy of Spoleto, which we never find exercised by the popes, was given back to Charlemagne. The popes, however, kept the revenues arising therefrom.

[1] Ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, ix. p. 296. "Ludovicus, maximus imperator, pater hujus a Deo electi Caroli Augusti, patrum solium adeo religione imitatus, pietate laudabiliter æmulatus, ut et paterna divini cultus vota, et erga prælatum principalis Ecclesiæ liberalitatis insigni Pius natus æquipararet et roboraret, sed et uberibus beneficiis et dapsilibus munificentiis, ut hæres gratissimus, ampliaret." It should be added that John had already stated with regard to Charlemagne that he did so much for the Roman Church "ut amissas olim urbes ei restituisset, et ex *Regni quoque sui parte alias non modicas* contulisset." These 'acts' of the Roman synod were read and approved by the synod or diet of Pavia (February 876), and then again at the Frankish council of Pontion (June 876). A more public announcement of the double donation of Charlemagne and Louis, before possible contemporaries, too, of both emperors, could not be imagined. Pope John was certainly living at this date (817). *Cf.* also the *life* of abbot Josua in the *Chron. Vult.*, l. ii. (ap. *R. I. S.*, i. pt. ii., p. 369). Though written at the end of the eleventh century, this chronicle has, of course, used earlier materials, and no doubt Josua's *life* is one such. It is there stated: "Tunc . . . . bb. P. Paschali pactum constitutionis et confirmationis faciens (Ludovicus)," etc. See also *sup.*, 118 n. 4, and 130 n. 2.

[2] Vid. *sup.*, 129 n. 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

In the same year (July 817) an event, big with fate for the empire, was brought about in Frankland, at Aix-la-Chapelle, by Louis and his advisers. Of these, the principal ones, the great ecclesiastics of the empire, were primarily anxious to preserve its unity; while others, less foreseeing, were interested in forwarding the German idea of division between sons. The outcome of these conflicting views was a compromise which took the form of an *ordinatio imperii*. While setting forth that it was not right that "the unity of the empire given to us by God should, for the love of children, be sundered by any human division," the document[1] declared that the emperor's eldest son Lothaire should be crowned "in a solemn manner with the imperial diadem, and constituted our consort and successor." But Pippin and Louis were to be called kings, and to have territories assigned them, "in which, after our death, they may, under their eldest brother, possess regal power." As Agobard expressed it in 833: "You assigned to your other sons (Pippin and Louis) parts of your empire (*regni*), but, that it (*regnum*) might be one and not three, you set over them the one whom you had made the partner of your name."[2] Pippin was to have Aquitaine, with south-eastern France, etc.; Louis, Bavaria; while Bernard, the emperor's illegitimate nephew, was left, in an inferior position, in charge of Italy. Various provisions, all, of course, to no purpose, were enacted to preserve the unity of the empire. The kings were not to marry, make war or peace, without the consent of the emperor, and to prevent further subdivision, the kings were not to divide their kingdoms among their children. Their people were to elect successors to Pippin and Louis out of their legitimate children.

Partition of the empire. Lothaire named co-emperor, 817.

Lothaire was accordingly at once duly crowned by his

Deed confirmed by the Pope.

[1] *M. G. Capit.*, i. p. 270 ff. (ed. Boretius).
[2] *Fleb. Epist.*, n. 4.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

father, and was meanwhile declared heir of the kingdom of Italy.[1] And that the *ordinatio* might have the highest sanction, it was sent to Rome, and received the confirmation of the Pope.[2] Unworkable as was the new scheme of empire, the first, as we shall see, to break through it was the emperor Louis himself. In the preamble to his *ordinatio* he had laid it down that the unity of the empire was not to be rent 'for love of children.' He himself was to be the cause of its being torn to pieces owing to that very predilection which he had himself condemned.

Bernard in arms.

Meanwhile the new arrangement did not please Bernard. He appealed to arms; but, terrified by the approach of the emperor with a large army, he gave himself up into his hands. Though his life was nominally spared him, he perished under the punishment—the loss of his eyes—which was awarded him (Easter, 818).[3]

Lothaire king of Italy, 820.

It was some little time before his successor was appointed, and even after Lothaire had received his nomination as king of Italy (820) he was not immediately sent there. Whether an embassy which Paschal sent to the emperor in the May of this year[4] had any connection with Lothaire's appointment cannot be stated. But a later one, of which the nomenclator Theodore, now primicerius, was the chief, was closely connected with

[1] "Regnum vero Italiæ eo modo prædicto filio nostro, si Deus voluerit ut successor noster existat, per omnia subjectum sit." *Ib.*, n. 17.

[2] "Gesta scribere mandastis. . . . Romam misistis a summo Pontifice gesta vestra probanda et firmanda." Agobard, in his *Flebilis Epist.*, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 225. He repeats the assertion in his *De comparatione utriusque regni. Cf.* Paschasius, *Vit. Walae*, ii. 10. He says that Wala strove "quatenus . . . . electio, quæ solemniter facta fuerat in filio a patre et ab omnibus, et consecratio imperialis, *apostolicæ sedis auctoritate firmata*, inconcussa maneret."

[3] *Annal. Einhard. et Moissac.*, an. 818; Theganus, c. 21.

[4] *Annal. Einhard.*, ad an.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Lothaire. In the following year (821) that prince married Ermengard, the daughter of Count Hugo of Tours, one of the principal men of the empire, and received from the papal envoy the presents from the Pope of which he was the bearer.

Lothaire came to Italy under the tutelage of Wala, abbot of Corbey, in the year after his marriage (822). Under Charlemagne, one of whose most trusted ministers he was, Wala had already ruled Italy, in the name of Bernard. But, finding himself an object of suspicion to Louis, of whose abilities he had a very poor opinion, he had left the world, and retired to Corbey when he became sole emperor. His abilities, however, made him indispensable, and Louis took him from his monastery to guide Lothaire in the government of his kingdom.

He is crowned by the Pope, 823, Apr. 5.

Before the young emperor returned to Frankland, at the request of the Pope, and at the express will of Louis himself, he went to Rome, "that he[1] might be associated with his father in the empire, not merely in power and name, but also in consecration," according to the words which Paschasius Radbert (†865), makes Lothaire himself use when addressing his father. Received with all honour by the Pope, Lothaire was crowned by him as king of Lombardy and emperor, on Easter Day in St. Peter's, and, as he is made to say by Paschasius,[2] was girt with the sword for the defence

[1] "Ad eamdem Sedem (Romanam) clementer me vestra Imperialis eximietas misit, ad confirmandum in me, quidquid pia dignatio vestra decreverat, ut essem socius et consors, non minus sanctificatione, quam potestate et nomine. Unde . . . . a summo Pontifice vestro ex consensu et voluntate, benedictionem, honorem, et nomen suscepi Imperialis officii." *In vit. Walæ*, ii. 17, ap. *P. L.*, t. 120; or ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii. p. 564.

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 17. *Cf. Annal. Einhard.*, ad an. 823, and the Astronomer, c. 36. As Lothaire had never been before anointed by a Pope, it would have been safe to conclude that the regal 'unction' would have been given to him at this time by the Pope. That it *was* given is expressly asserted (*Hist. reg. Franc.*, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of the empire and the Church, which no one was more willing or more in duty bound to defend than himself. Some historians suppose that Paschal next proceeded to invest Lothaire with supreme power within the city of Rome. The ground for this supposition is a statement by an anonymous continuator of the Lombard history of Paul the Deacon, to the effect that the Pope "granted to the emperor Lothaire the power which the ancient emperors had over the city of Rome."[1] To say the least of it, this chronicler must have been here anticipating events. Under Eugenius II., the successor of Paschal, large concessions of power in the city of Rome were made to the emperor, as we shall see. But up to the present the Carolingian emperors had not put forth any pretensions to supreme power in Rome. The arrangement or treaty of 817 was still in force. And, if what is said by the anonymous continuator about Paschal's concession be true, what was done in that direction by Eugenius II. would have been meaningless.

Farfa. During Lothaire's sojourn in Rome, and whilst with the Pope and the nobility of Rome and the empire he was engaged in administering justice, Sergius, "the librarian of the Holy Roman See," came forward and maintained that the famous Sabine monastery of Farfa was subject to the dominion of the Roman Church (*ad jus et dominationem R. Ecclesiæ pertineret*). The abbot Ingoald, however, was able to produce diplomas which showed that it had been under the protection (*sub tuitione et defen-*

[1] "Paschalis quoque Apostolicus potestatem, quam prisci Imperatores habuere, ei (Lothario) super populum Romanum concessit." *Contin. Romana Hist. Langobard*, ap. *M. G. SS. Langob.*; or ap. *R. I. S.*, I. ii. p. 184. This 'continuation' (which only occupies two folio pages), consists of short notices of the principal events from the time of the Lombard king Ratchis to the visit of Lothaire to Rome in the reign of Eugenius.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

sione), first of the Lombard kings and then of Charlemagne. The latter had declared it free from all tribute, like the great Frankish monasteries of Luxeuil, Lerins, and Agaune (or St. Maurice). As the papal advocate was unable to produce any counter documents, the Pope not only decided that, with the exception of consecration, he had no temporal dominion over the monastery (*nullum dominium in jure ipsius Monasterii*), but ordered the restoration to it of all that his predecessors had unjustly taken away from it.[1]

For the favours shown them by the emperors the monks were always grateful, and in the long struggle between the empire and the papacy the monastery of St. Mary always stood for the former.

Disturbances in Rome.

After the departure of Lothaire from Rome, the factious elements in the city again began to cause trouble. Under the pretence of loyalty and devotion to the interests of the emperor, a certain section of the higher clergy, and apparently of the nobility[2] also, pursued their schemes of independence or personal aggrandisement with too little regard for secrecy. Two of their number, Theodore, the primicerius, a man whom we have seen deep in the councils of the Pope, and his son-in-law, Leo, were seized in the Lateran palace, blinded, and then beheaded. Their partisans at once sent word of the affair to the emperor Louis, accused the Pope of ordering or conniving at the execution, and asserted that the victims had been treated as they had because they were devoted to the young emperor Lothaire. Paschal also sent legates to the emperor. Louis despatched to Rome, in order to look into the matter, Adalung, abbot

[1] *Cf.* a diploma (an. 840) of Lothaire in favour of Farfa, ap. *R. I. S.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 388. Paschal had already (an. 817) himself confirmed the *rights* of Farfa. *Cf. ib.*, p. 371 ff.

[2] *Cf. Le Pape Jean VIII.*, p. 215, n. 1, by Lapôtre.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of St. Vedast's,[1] and Humphrey, count of Coire. By 'compurgation' (that is, by taking an oath along with a great many bishops) the Pope proved his complete innocence 'of the blood' of Theodore and Leo. But, at the same time, he took upon himself to defend those who had put them to death, inasmuch as they were his dependents, and had justly inflicted the sentence of death on men who were guilty of high treason. Further envoys were sent by the Pope, with the result that, when Louis heard of the oath of the Pope, and his defence of the authors of the death of the traitors, he concluded that there was nothing further for him to do in the matter.[2] Paschal's death soon after the return of his envoys put an end, as far at least as he was concerned, to all further relations between Rome and the empire. But the terrible incident set the lovers of law and order both in the Church and the State earnestly thinking. That factions should have become so powerful as to dare, without the knowledge and consent of the Pope, to put even to a deserved death his chief minister, viz., the primicerius, revealed a state of things which imperatively demanded a remedy. The palliative invented by the statesmen of the empire and the Church was, as we shall see, the constitution of 824. If it lessened the liberty of the Holy See, it tended to strengthen its hands against the fearsome factions of the Roman nobility. Of what these were capable, indications have already been given in the cases of the attack on Leo III. and of the murder of

[1] Near Arras.

[2] All this direct from Einhard, ad an. 823: "Erant et qui dicerent, vel jussu vel consilio Paschalis pontificis rem fuisse perpetratam. . . . . Pontifex . . . . interfectores prædictorum hominum, quia de familia S. Petri erant, summopere defendens, mortuos velut majestatis reos condemnavit, jure cæsos pronuntiavit. . . . (Imperator) cum . . . . de sacramento pontificis et excusatione reorum comperisset, nihil sibi ultra in hoc negotio faciendum ratus." *Cf.* Astron., *in vit. Lud.*, c. 37; Theganus, *ib.*, c. 30.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Paschal's ministers. When, in the tenth century, the arm of the Empire, which the pact of Lothaire (824) was to place more at the disposal of the popes, became impotent, their awful power for evil will be clearly revealed against a lurid background of sacrilege and murder.

Affairs of the East. Second Iconoclast persecution, 815–842.

As to his predecessor Leo III., the persecuted monks in the East turned to Paschal. For a short time the upstart emperor Leo V., the Armenian, had had the good sense to leave the direction of religious matters to those whom it concerned. But after completing various secret preparations,[1] he began his more open attack on image-worship by forcing the patriarch Nicephorus, who now displayed a noble firmness, to abdicate. He was then sent into exile (March 815). An imperial officer, a layman, an ignorant and married man, one Theodotus, "who was[2] called Cassiteras and Flavianus," was consecrated patriarch in his stead (April 1, 815). Being the brother-in-law of Constantine Copronymus, he had thoroughly imbibed his iconoclastic spirit. His immediate successors were as heterodox as himself, and the See of Constantinople was destined to be in the hands of iconoclasts for twenty-seven years. His first step was to summon a synod at Constantinople, which condemned the seventh General Council, but accepted that of 754. Active persecution of the proscribed image-worshippers was at once begun. Images were broken, and those who honoured them punished with exile, scourging, imprisonment, and death.[3] Among those punished with rods and exile was again the intrepid

[1] *Cf.* Hefele, *Conc.*, l. 21, § 415.

[2] *Liber Synod.*, ap. Labbe, *Conc.*, vii. 1193. This 'Synodical book was probably drawn up at the end of this ninth century. *Cf.* the author (anonymous) of the life of Leo the Armenian, ap. *P. G.*, Latin only, t. 56, p. 829. Leo Grammaticus (*c.* 1013), *in vit. Leonis*, simply says of Theodotus that he was "ignorant and had less voice than a fish!"

[3] *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Theodore the Studite. And again did he turn to Rome for comfort and strength in the midst of his trials (817). In his own name and in that of four other abbots he wrote[1] to Paschal, the pastor established by God over the flock of Christ, the stone on which is built the Catholic Church. "For you are Peter," he said, "since you fill his See." Theodore then proceeds to tell the Pope of the persecution that had fallen on images and men alike, and begs him to come to their assistance, as Jesus Christ had given him command to confirm his brethren. He entreats the Pope, 'as the first of all,' to let all the world know that he anathematises those who had dared to anathematise the patriarch and the image-worshippers in the East, and assures him that, by so doing, he would be performing a work which would please God, sustain the weak, confirm the strong, and raise up those who had fallen. The patriarch Theodotus also wrote to the Pope, and sent him envoys. But these the Pope would not see, an action which elicited (818) a second letter[2] from Theodore. The Pope was from the very beginning the pure source of the orthodox faith, wrote the unconquerable monk; he has proved that the visible successor of the Prince of the Apostles, recognisable by all, truly governs the Roman Church, and that God has not abandoned the Church of Constantinople.

Besides sending letters full of words of consolation to the clergy and religious of the Eastern Empire, Paschal also sent (about the year 818) legates to the emperor with

[1] Ep. ii. 12, ap. Sirmond, v. p. 314. The Pope is addressed as "pre-eminently holy, the great light, the supreme bishop, and our lord" —*τῷ πάντα πανάγιοτάτῳ, φωστῆρι μεγάλῳ, ἀρχιερεῖ πρωτίστῳ, κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.* And in the course of the letter the abbots call the Pope "the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven, the rock of the faith on which the Catholic Church is built"—(*πέτρα τῆς πίστεως, ἐφ' ᾗ οἰκοδομηται ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*).

[2] *Ib.*, ii. 13, p. 315. Theodore speaks of the Pope *ὡς ἀναργὴς διδάσκος τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου . . . . ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡ ἀθιλωτος καὶ ἀκατηλουτος πηγὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a refutation of his iconoclastic arguments. In the fragment of this which has come down to us the Pope urges: "When in the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. xii. 3) the name of Jesus is pronounced, the heart is filled with pious affections. To paint a picture of Jesus is to do more, as it is a more difficult thing than to pronounce His name, and surely if done in the Holy Spirit will not be of less aid to devotion. Will it be maintained that there is no need of signs to unite ourselves to God? That would be to forget that the sacraments are also signs. Would baptism be necessary if there were no need of signs? If faith does not admit of signs, why make the sign of the cross? If God detests images, why do we consider it our highest prerogative to be made after the image of God?" The Pope also shows that the arguments drawn from the Old Testament have no weight, and points out the difference between adoration and veneration, between the substance of an image and the sublime original which it represents.[1] These common-sense arguments had no more effect on Leo V. than they have to-day on many non-Catholics. To both, image-worshippers are idolaters. But they had a most beneficial effect on the suffering Catholics. They gave them courage in their hour of need. Hence, while Theodore[2] laments that the iconoclasts have cut themselves off from "the See of the supreme pastor, where Jesus Christ has deposited the keys of the faith, against which the gates of hell—the tongues of heretics—have never prevailed and never shall prevail," he cries out, "Let, then, the apostolic Paschal rejoice, for he has accomplished the work of Peter, and let the multitude of the faithful thrill with gladness because they have seen true bishops, formed on the model of the

[1] Hergenroether, *Hist. de l'Église*, iii. p. 97, citing Pitra, *Jur. Eccles. Græc.*, ii., præf. p. xi., and 2552a, *Supp. Regist.* of the new Jaffé.

[2] Ep. ii. 63, ad Naucrat. *Cf.* ii. 65.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ancient Fathers!" Like so many other persecutors of the Church, Leo V. perished by a violent death (December 25, 820); and, as we shall see under the *life* of Eugenius II., the Church of Constantinople had a few years of comparative peace.

The *keys* venerated by the Roman people.

In the correspondence of the Studite, as may be seen even in the extracts cited above, there is frequent allusion to St. Peter's keys. It is not at all unlikely that they were especially impressed upon his mind by their use in a curious religious ceremony observed in Rome in connection with them, of which we have certain knowledge only through his letters. These reveal to us the fact that he was in constant communication not only with Greek monks resident in Rome, especially with Basil, abbot of SS. Andrew and Sabas *in cella nova* on the Cœlian, but also with others who were in the habit of going backwards and forwards between Old and New Rome. Hence there is no cause for hesitating to accept what he tells us about Roman customs on the ground that he was a stranger to the Eternal City.

In a letter of the saint treating of image-worship, comparatively recently discovered, and printed in a volume (IX.) of the *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, which was presented to Leo XIII. on the occasion of his sacerdotal jubilee in 1887,[1] there occurs the following interesting passage: "I am informed that in Rome they carry in solemn procession the keys of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles.[2] Christ, of course, did not give him these material keys, but he gave them to him mystically when he gave him the power of binding and loosing. But the Romans have made silver

[1] At the same time the Roman clergy offered him two precious *keys*, as symbols, of course, of the *keys* of the kingdom of heaven which Our Lord entrusted to St. Peter (St. Matt. xvi. 18).

[2] "Κλεῖδας τοῦ Κορυφαίου Πέτρου ἄγουσι."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ones, and present them for the veneration of the people. Great is their faith! Among them, according to the word of the Lord, is set the immovable rock of the faith, whilst here (at Constantinople), as it seems, infidelity and wickedness are in the ascendant." This unique passage not only makes known to us a pretty religious observance of the Roman Church, but throws light on earlier writings which enable us, seemingly, to trace back this veneration of the keys at least to the close of the fifth century,[1] and gives further meaning to the custom of sending golden or other keys to important personages practised by the popes, at least, as early as the sixth century.[2]

Greek monks take refuge in Rome.

One result of Leo's persecution was to cause a still further immigration of Greek monks into Rome and other parts of Italy, and a consequent deepening of Hellenic influence, especially in its more southerly portions. It was no doubt some of these exiles whom Paschal placed in the monastery which he built and endowed in connection with the Church of St. Praxedes, in order that, 'by day and night,' they might in their own tongue praise God and the saints whose relics there reposed.[3]

One of the Greek monks, who at this time came to Rome, "inasmuch as it was outside the tyrant's sway,"[4] was a biographer of the historian Theophanes, the holy monk Methodius. On the death of Leo V. he returned to Constantinople with letters from the Pope for the new emperor, Michael II. Paschal exhorted him to return to

[1] *Cf.* a pamphlet (*Le chiavi di S. Pietro*, Roma, 1887) by Cozza Luzi, whence all these details have been drawn.

[2] *Cf.* vol. i., pt. i., p. 169 of this work.

[3] "In quo (cenobio) et sanctam Græcorum congregationem adgregans, quæ die noctuque grece modulationis psalmodie laudes . . . . Deo . . . . persolverent introduxit." *L. P., in. vit.*, n. ix.

[4] "Ὡς ἔξω τυγχάνουσαν τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξουσίας." *Vit. Meth.*, ap. *Acta SS.*, Jun. ii., p. 962. *Cf. La querelle des images*, by Brehier, c. iv. (Paris, 1904), and *L'Église Byzantine*, by Pargoire, p. 265 ff., Paris, 1905.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the orthodox faith, and to re-establish Nicephorus on the patriarchal throne. But though, with courageous freedom, Methodius in person supported the Pope's arguments, the emperor was not moved. He upbraided the good monk with being a source of trouble and bad example, and caused him to be scourged and imprisoned. In the beginning of his reign, he had shown himself comparatively tolerant towards the worshippers of images, but after he subdued the rebel Thomas (823), they felt his hand, though not so rough as Leo's, still heavy upon them.

The conversion of the Danes.

The efforts made by Charlemagne to subjugate and civilise the Saxons, and to secure the north-eastern frontiers of the empire by force of arms and by the preaching of Christian doctrine, had often been retarded by fierce inroads of the cruel heathen Danes, "who dwell upon the sea."[1] It was clearly, therefore, a work even of the first political importance to bring about their acceptance of the precepts and truths of Christianity. Some attempts had already been made to convert them.

The great St. Wilibrord had laboured amongst them. We find another of our countrymen eagerly inquiring, in the year 789, "if there is any hope of the conversion of the Danes."[2] But from the opposition of princes, and from one cause and another, especially from the fear entertained by the Danes that their independence would disappear with their religion, no conspicuous success had attended these early endeavours. Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, was now unfortunately to add to the number of failures. His design of working for the conversion of the Danes was at once approved by the emperor

[1] Ermoldus calls them, "Veloces, agiles, armigerique nimis," and adds: "Lintre dapes quærit, incolitatque mare." *Carm.*, l. iv. init.

[2] Alcuin, Ep. 6, ed. Düm.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Louis, and by the great ones of the empire. To proceed with due regard to ecclesiastical order, Ebbo went to Rome with intent to procure the sanction of the Holy See.[1] This he duly received. Paschal addressed a letter[2] (*c.* 822) "to all his most holy brethren and fellow bishops and priests, and to the most glorious princes, dukes, and magnificent counts, and to all Christians." In his solicitude for the Lord's flock, it becomes the Pope, he writes, to have a care for those who sit in the shadow of death, and so "to the parts of the North," by the authority of the holy apostles, he sends Ebbo to enlighten them. In any difficulties that may arise he must ever have recourse to the Holy Roman Church. One Halitgar is named by the Pope as a colleague for Ebbo. All are exhorted to help the undertaking.

In Denmark no opposition was placed in the way of Ebbo. In a short time after he had crossed the Eider, which was fixed by treaty between Charlemagne and the Danish King Hemming as the boundary of Denmark, he had baptised a great many idolaters. But, for some reason, he unfortunately gave up the great work he had taken in hand, and returned to France. Though he did not cease to interest himself in the conversion of the Danes, the glorious title of Apostle of the North was to be given not to him but to St Ansgar,[3] who, however, in his modesty, afterwards attributed to Ebbo and to the emperor Louis

[1] "Temporibus D. Lud. Imp., cum consensu ipsius ac pene totius regni ejus synodi congregatæ, Romam adiit" (Ebbo). Anskarii Ep., ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 69 n.

[2] Ep. 4, Pasch., ap. *P. L.*, *ib.*, p. 982, or ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 69.

[3] *Cf.* Vit. Anscharii in *SS. Rer. Germ. in usum schol.*, nn. 13, 34. Einhard (ad an. 823) sums up the work of Ebbo in a few words. Ebbo . . . . "qui consilio imperatoris et auctoritate Rom. Pont. prædicandi gratia ad terminos Danorum accesserat, et æstate præterita multos ex eis ad fidem venientes baptizaverat, regressus est." *Cf.* Ermoldus, *Carm.*, l. iv.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

all the success of his own unceasing apostolic toil. To Ebbo, on the contrary, was reserved deposition (835)—undeserved perhaps—for taking part against the emperor Louis. But though a real beginning of the christianising of Denmark was made by Ansgar, if not by Ebbo, "a hundred and fifty years were to roll by before the faith of Christ was anything like generally adopted by its people, and two hundred before it could be regarded as the religion of the nation." [1]

Rhabanus Maurus.

Concerning Paschal's other dealings with men or things outside Rome, but little further can be gleaned from his letters or from our other sources. As that little is of no special interest,[2] we shall only notice one more of these extra-urban relations. It is partially revealed to us by a fragment of a letter of Rhabanus (properly Hrabanus) Maurus to Hatto, abbot of Fulda. From this document,[3] which has been preserved for us in a most confused manner [4] by the centuriators of Magdeburg, it appears that there had been a dispute between Bernulf, bishop of Würzburg, and the abbot of Fulda, which was in his diocese, as to the extent of the privilege which St. Boniface had secured for that famous abbey from Pope Zachary. The bishop, who lost his case before a local synod, and was condemned for holding what was decided to be an illegal ordination in the monastery, seems to have appealed to Rome, and to have secured some decision in his favour. Whatever was the nature of the verdict, it seems to have proved very dis-

[1] Allen, *Hist. de Danemark*, p. 53 (Copenhagen, 1878).

[2] *E.g.*, one letter confirms the privileges of the church of Ravenna under a penalty of "five pounds of tried gold." The two letters to Bernard, bishop of Ambronay, are of doubtful authenticity. *Cf. M. G. Epp.*, v. 71 n.

[3] Ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 528.

[4] *Cf.* Jaffé, sub 2557. They connect Rhabanus as archbishop with Paschal. The former did not become archbishop till 847, and Paschal died in 824.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tasteful to the monks. Rhabanus, who became their abbot in 822, wrote a very strong letter to the Pope on the subject of the privileges of the monastery. So annoyed was he at its contents, that he threw into prison the monks who brought it, denounced its author to the bishops of Francia, and threatened to excommunicate him. How this affair terminated is not known. We cannot, however, leave this, the greatest scholar of his age, the 'primus præceptor Germaniæ,' without noting what was his idea of the position held by Pope Paschal. He calls him the first bishop of the world, the successor of Peter, and entreats him to lead men to the pastures of life. He describes himself as the follower of Paschal, and prays "Christ our God to open wide the gates of heaven that Paschal and his flock may enter it together." [1]

Paschal restores the English 'Burgh,' 817.

The *life* of Paschal must not be brought to a close without some notice of the restorations that exclusively absorb the attention of his contemporary biographer. To us the most interesting work of the Pope in this department is that in connection with the Anglo-Saxon quarter of the city of Rome, viz., that part of the Trastevere about the church of S. Spirito in Sassia. The *Book of the Popes* tells how, through the carelessness of some of the English, a fire destroyed not only the whole of their quarter, "which in their own language they call burgh," and which the modern *borgos* that lead to St. Peter's from the bridge of St. Angelo still mark out, but almost all the splendid

[1] "Pontificalis apex, primus et in orbe sacerdos
Petri successor, Pauli dignissimus heres,
. . . . . .
Respice nos miseros, perduc ad pascua vitæ.
Paschalem sequimur, Paschalis ad æthera pergat,
Christe deus noster, Christus rex suscipe votum
Limina pandi poli," etc.
Carm. VII. to Pope Paschal, ap. *M. G. PP.*, ii. 170.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

colonnade that led up to St. Peter's. Full of anxiety for the Church of St. Peter, and "for the distress of the English pilgrims," the Pope rushed barefoot[1] to the scene of the fire. And so much, continues the biographer, was the hand of God with the Pope, that the flames did not spread beyond the place where he first arrived. The fire had broken out in the very early morning, but Paschal remained on the spot till daylight, when at length, by his prayers and the exertions of all the people, the flames were subdued. The distress caused by the fire was relieved by the Pope by large gifts not only of money and clothes, but also of building materials, so that the English were enabled to rebuild their houses. The damaged colonnade was also completely restored by the energetic Pontiff.

Restores various churches.

Paschal's "love of the Church of St. Peter"[2] caused him to expend money upon its adornment. He built within it a large and very beautiful oratory dedicated to SS. Processus and Martinianus, erected an altar in honour of S. Sixtus II. near the confession of St. Peter, and presented it with many elaborately embroidered vestments and with valuable plate.[3]

Love of his predecessor "of pious memory, the lord

[1] "Propter tantam peregrinorum illorum devastationem nudis pedibus discalceatus pedester cucurrit." *L. P.* Our own *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* assigns this accident to the year of Paschal's accession, 817. On the *Schola* and *Burgh* of the Anglo-Saxons in Rome, see an interesting article in the *Dublin Review*, October 1898, entitled, "The National Establishments of England in Mediæval Rome." See also *supra*, p. 27, and vol. i., pt. ii., p. 150 of this work.

[2] *L. P.*, n. vii.

[3] *Ib.*, nn. v., vi., xxiii., xxxviii. It is interesting to note, as showing that the Assumption of Our Lady was the common belief of the Church in the early part of the ninth century, that many of the vestments given by Paschal to different churches in Rome had worked upon them representations of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin: "Qualiter b. Dei Genitrix Maria corpore est assumpta" . . . . "assumptionem ejusdem intemeratæ virginis." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Pope Leo III.," led him to put again into thorough working order the hospital for pilgrims which Leo had built near St. Peter's, "in the spot called Naumachia," but which the neglect of its governors had already caused to be overwhelmed with poverty.[1]

A diligent inquiry into the condition of all the neighbouring monasteries revealed to Paschal the fact that the nuns of the convent of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, situated on the other side of the aqueduct of Claudius and near his Lateran palace, were so poor that the time they had to devote to procuring for themselves the means of livelihood left them none in which to sing "the praises of God and His saints." The Pope so endowed them that "they could live well and religiously."[2]

The catacombs and their relics.

One most interesting feature of Rome, however, he did not attempt to restore, viz., the catacombs, the cemeteries of the early Christians. After the triumph of Christianity, in the fourth century, the catacombs became places of pilgrimage; for there rested the bodies of those who had given their lives for Christ, the Lord. But the damage they sustained in the following centuries at the hands of Goth and Lombard, the rapidly increasing unhealthiness of the country round Rome, and the consequent translation of the relics of the martyrs into the City, caused them to be gradually abandoned. It was about the middle of the seventh century, under Pope Theodore I.,[3] that the practice

[1] *Ib.*, n. xviii. [2] *Ib.*, n. xxii.

[3] Lanciani, *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 115, says that the name *S. Maria ad Martyres*, given to the Pantheon by Boniface IV., was bestowed upon it, "according to the *Liber Pontificalis* . . . . on account of twenty-eight cartloads of sacred bones which had been removed from the catacombs and placed in a basin of porphyry under the high altar." This, as far as I can find, is nowhere stated in the *Liber*. The old bad edition of it by Vignoli does indeed say in the *life* of Boniface IV., "et reliquias in eo collocavit." But in the new editions, by Duchesne, etc., no such sentence is found.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of translating the bodies of the saints from the catacombs to churches in the City was inaugurated. In the following century it was in active operation. The wholesale denuding of the catacombs by Paschal of the sacred treasures, which had so long attracted the pilgrim, was the death-blow to the custom of pious pilgrimage to them.

St. Praxedes.

It was to the Church of St. Praxedes, which he had quite rebuilt, that Paschal translated most of the relics which he took from the ruined cemeteries; for he did not wish that the bodies of the saints there buried should fall into the same unhonoured decay as their sepulchres.[1] The translation was conducted with the greatest pomp. A long list of the sacred remains which were removed on July 20, 817, has come down to us engraved on marble. Altogether some two thousand three hundred bodies were brought to St. Praxedes's. Most of them were buried beneath the high altar by the Pope's own hand, but a few were interred in the chapel of St. Zeno, which the Pope had built in memory of his mother Theodora, and in other oratories of the basilica.[2]

The relics of St. Cecily.

Of all the relics, however, which were touched by him, those of St. Cecily are the most famous and interesting. In fact the history of St. Cecily and her relics is not merely interesting, it is of the first importance as proving what a really large amount of credibility may be due even to those *acts* of the martyrs which are not considered authentic.

[1] "Pontifex multa corpora Sanctorum dirutis in cœmeteriis jacentia pia sollicitudine, ne remanerent neglecta, quærens, atque inventa colligens . . . . intra civitatem ad honorem et gloriam Dei honeste recondidit." This is a combination of two passages in the *L. P.*

[2] "Quæ (the bodies of the saints) sub hoc sancto altare . . . . propriis manibus condidit. . . . Ingressu basilicæ . . . . ubi . . . . suæ genitricis Domnæ Theodoræ Episcopæ corpus quiescit, condidit . . . . corpora venerabilium hæc . . . . Fiunt etiam insimul omnes SS. duo milia CCC." Extracts from the long inscription, ap. *L. P.*, ii. 64. *Cf. supra*, nn. on pp. 124, 125.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

At one time the *acts* of the martyrdom of St. Cecily were regarded as almost entirely fabulous. But, nowadays, the discoveries of De Rossi in the Catacomb of S. Callixtus, following on the records of the biographer of Paschal, and on the investigation of Cardinal Sfondrati in the sixteenth century, have made it plain that if the *acts* of St. Cecily, as they have come down to us, do not date beyond the fifth century, and have been corrupted, they are nevertheless true, "not only in their chief features, but also in many minute details which only a contemporary witness could have collected, and which no later copyist has altered."[1] Finding that the Church of St. Cecily, in Trastevere, was falling into ruins through old age, Paschal rebuilt it on a more magnificent scale.[2] And considering that the Church of St. Cecily ought to have her relics, he tried to find them. At first no success attended his efforts, and when he was told that the Lombards had carried off the body of the saint in one of their riflings of the cemeteries, he abandoned the search altogether. Early one Sunday morning, however, when he was saying matins in St. Peter's, he fell asleep. In his slumber[3] a maiden in angelic raiment seemed to stand at his side and upbraid him for listening to idle tales, and giving up his search for her when he had been so near her that they might have conversed together. In reply to the Pope's questions, the maid told him that her name was Cecily, and that the Lombards, though desirous of doing so, had failed to find her body, and that he must continue his quest for it. Thus incited, Paschal recommenced his search, and at length found it clad in cloth of

[1] *Roma Sott.*, i. 317, by Revv. J. S. Northcote and W. R. Brownlow.

[2] *L. P.*, n. xiv.

[3] *L. P.*, n. xv. Fragments of old frescos, still to be seen at the end of the Church of St. Cecily, depict this vision of the Pope. *Cf. supra*, p. 125.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

gold, and with linen cloths soaked in the martyr's blood at the foot of the body. With great honour were the relics of the saint brought into the city; and, together with the body of her spouse Valerian and with those of other saints, were placed under the high altar of the new church.[1]

Though not directly bearing on the life of Paschal, the following facts in connection with the relics of the saint are too interesting to be passed over. In the year 1599 Cardinal Sfondrati, when making certain alterations in the Church of St. Cecily, came across a marble sarcophagus. Within it he found a coffin of cypress wood, and, within that again, the body of St. Cecily, clad in its garments of cloth of gold, and in the position in which the *acts* of her martyrdom describe her as buried, and as it was afterwards represented in the beautiful statue of Maderno. The body was still incorrupt, and was exposed for some weeks for the veneration of the faithful. The excitement caused by this discovery can be well imagined. The sculptor Maderno often went to see the body; and, as the inscription[2] on his marble statue of the saint sets forth, he depicted it as he saw it. The great historian Baronius[3] and the archæologist Bosio, who were eye-witnesses of these events, have left full accounts of them.

Finally, when in the nineteenth century the great archæologist De Rossi discovered the 'chapel' of the popes in the cemetery of St. Callixtus, mindful of the fact that, not only from the biography of Pope Paschal, but also from

[1] Direct from the *L. P.* A fragment of a spurious letter of Paschal on this subject (ap. Mansi, *Conc.*, xiv. 374, etc.), which is practically identical with the account of the *L. P.*, has evidently been taken from it.

[2] "En tibi sanctissimæ virginis Cæciliæ imaginem quam *ipse integram* in sepulchro jacentem vidi, eandem tibi prorsus eodem corporis situ hoc marmore expressi."

[3] *Annal.*, ad an. 821, nn. xv., xvi. For fuller details on this history of St. Cecily, see *Roma Sott.*, i. c. 4, from which this account has been mostly taken. *Cf.* also the notes of Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 65 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

earlier documents, St. Cecily had been buried near the popes, made a diligent search for her original burial place. To his intense joy he discovered a chamber, then full of earth, leading from the chapel of the popes. When the earth was removed, frescos on the wall proved that the sepulchre of this illustrious virgin martyr had been discovered, and gave a most wonderful confirmation, not only to the biography of Paschal, but even to the *acts* of her martyrdom.

Women interfere with the Pope's devotion.

Among the many changes effected by the Pope in the churches, we read of his raising the pontifical chair in St. Mary Major's in order that he might be able to pray and carry out the ceremonies of the Church with less distraction. Before he made the change, the women who came to Mass were close behind the Pope's chair, so that he could not speak to the servers without their knowledge.[1] To understand the significance of this passage of the *Liber Pontificalis*, it is necessary to bear in mind that in this church, while the Pope's chair was in the centre of the apse as usual, the *matroneum*, or place for the women, was not in its ordinary position, nor was the apse itself of the customary type. The *matroneum* was not in the upper galleries above the porticos of the men, but at the back of the apse, in a space formed by its peculiar arrangement. For the apse was supported not by a blank wall, but by pillars; while at some distance behind them, thus leaving a space for the *matroneum*, there was a blank wall which served as a sort of buttress to the basilica.[2]

Death and burial of Paschal, 824.

On their return from their embassy to the emperor Louis, the Pope's envoys had found him, as we have already noticed, very ill. It is more than likely that his spirit was broken by the ingratitude and treason of his primicerius. He died soon after their return, apparently on February 11,

[1] *L. P.*, n. xxx.

[2] Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 67 n. 30.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

824; or, according to Jaffé, in the month of May[1] or in the very beginning of June. The *Liber Pontificalis* says he was buried in St. Peter's. But Theganus[2] has it that "the Roman people would not allow his body to be buried in St. Peter's before Eugenius succeeded him, and that he ordered the body to be buried in the place which he had built in his lifetime," *i.e.* in the Church of St. Praxedes, as an ancient inscription there, now no longer in existence, once proclaimed.[3]

When we find it stated that Paschal died "hated by a great part of the Romans,"[4] it is necessary to note how very ambiguous is the passage just quoted, on the strength of which the statement is made. It is quite capable of meaning that they would not have the prompt election of a new Pope interfered with by funeral functions. In any case we must be on our guard against receiving a false impression. Those whom we should nowadays understand by the 'Romans,' or 'the Roman people,' were then of no account; they had no more influence on events than had 'the people' of any other country at the time. If Paschal was hated, it was only by that party among the nobles which was opposed to him, and which became so powerful on his death as to carry the election of their candidate, Eugenius, in despite of opposition.[5]

[1] The fact that the *feast* of Pope Paschal has been placed by the Church in May is a good reason for believing that it was in that month that he died.

[2] *In vit. Lud.*, c. 30.

[3] *Cf.* Pagi, *in vit. Pasch.*, n. 15. Duchesne (*L. P.*, ii. 68) believes that *the place* referred to was one of the two oratories built by Paschal in St. Peter's. This would reconcile Theganus with the *L. P.*, our best authority, and it would be only necessary to suppose that the lost inscription cited by Pagi was not connected with Paschal's tomb, but with some part of his work for the church.

[4] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 48.

[5] See the *life* of Eugenius, *infra*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

In the Roman martyrology he is honoured among the saints[1] on May 14.

There are extant, struck about the year 818, three silver grossos of Paschal. On the obverse in each case is Paschal's name in a monogram, and Scs. Petrus; on the reverse the name of the emperor 'Ludovvicus Imp.' with 'Roma' in the form of a cross in the centre.[2]

[1] *Cf. Acta SS. Mai*, iii. 393 f.
[2] Promis, p. 53; Cinagli, p. 3.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

EUGENIUS II.

A.D. 824–827.

Sources.—The carelessly written and truncated biography in the *L. P.* only occupies a few lines, and these are mostly taken up with the character of the Pope. Hence again our chief authorities, after the letters[1] to and from Eugenius in the editions of the *Councils*, etc., are the *lives* of the emperor Louis, the annals of Eginhard, the *life* of Wala, by his disciple, the famous Paschasius Radbert (ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii., or *P. L.*, t. 120), and similar extraneous sources.

Wala, Charlemagne's first cousin, by an illegitimate branch, was one of the most remarkable men of his age. He was one of the very few men of his time in the West who had any pretensions to the name of statesman, and was one of Charlemagne's chief ministers. He is said to have far excelled the rest of the emperor's councillors in debate, and to have been ever ready with the best possible advice. Losing favour under Louis, he retired to the abbey of Corbey. The weak emperor, however, could not do without the great statesman, and he was recalled to power. But till the day of his death (August 836) he was never sure of Louis. His biography, under the title of *Epitaphium Arsenii*, is as remarkable as its subject. It is the most curious work of its time, and displays, perhaps, more political insight than any other writing of the day. It is a book that requires a key, a book *à clef* as the French call it; for fictitious names are therein given to the persons of whom it treats. The key to it was first supplied by the

[1] A few are to be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 129.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

great Benedictine scholar Mabillon. The first part, written soon after Wala's death, is a eulogy of him; the second part, written about 851, treats of his action during the civil war (828–834), and contains a vigorous diatribe against the imperial court.

On the revival of the Image-controversy in the West, the documents of most importance are to be found in Mansi, *Conc.*, t. xiv. and xv., appendix.

Emperors of the East.	Emperor of the West.
Leo VI. (the Armenian), 813–820.	Louis I., the Pious, 814–840.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	

Disturbances at the election of Eugenius.

Owing to the uncertainty which attends the date of Paschal's death, the exact date of the consecration of Eugenius cannot be determined. It took place, seemingly, some time between February and the second half of the month of May (824), certainly before June 6. For the Council of Mantua (827) is described[1] as being held on June 6, in the fourth year of Pope Eugenius. It is also further certain that he was not elected without trouble.

Parties in Rome.

In Rome, as elsewhere in this age, the nobility were striving to make themselves independent. But in Rome the strife of parties was accentuated by the fact that, whereas elsewhere there was a three-sided contest going on to decide respective rights—a contest between king, nobles, and people—in Rome there was, normally, a four-sided struggle constantly in progress. For there the views and aims of the ecclesiastical nobility were an additional factor. These parties were, of course, often increased in number by subdivision, as one section of the same party would suppose that its interests could be best promoted in one way, and another by some other method. For instance,

[1] Mansi, xiv. 493.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

one faction of the nobility would conclude that independence might best be won for the nobles by adhesion to the Pope, another by submission to a foreign and distant ruler.

The victorious party in 824.

At any rate, in the present case, the nobles, whether that faction which had been quashed by Pope Paschal or not, carried the day, and elected one, who, from his father's name[1] (Bœmund), might perhaps have been of foreign descent. Evidently at this juncture the nobles argued that their interests would be best secured by limiting the power of the Pope and by giving greater influence to a foreign prince who would be strong enough to serve as a drag on the authority of the Pope over them, but not enough to prove any practical hindrance to their own designs. In the year 824, therefore, that party prevailed which then first appeared by name in history, and which, by completely gaining the upper hand, was to work so much harm to the papacy in the tenth century, viz., the party of the nobles. "Vincente nobilium parte,"[2]—words worth committing to memory as presaging the history of the papacy in the following age,—the popular candidate was defeated and that of the nobles placed on the chair of Peter. Sometimes, indeed, the Roman nobles overreached themselves; and from time to time the emperors,

[1] "Eugenius, natione Romanus, ex patre Bœmundo," is an extract from some of the older editions of the *L. P.* But in the best editions of it his father's name is not given, Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 69. In saying that Eugenius was elected by 'all the Romans,' the *L. P.* is clearly inaccurate.

[2] "In cujus (Paschal's) locum, cum duo per contentionem populi fuissent electi, Eugenius tamen, ... *vincente nobilium parte*, subrogatus atque ordinatus est." Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 824. Onuphrius Panvinius, who in the middle of the sixteenth century issued an annotated edition of Platina's *Lives of the Popes*, and other later authors, give Zinzinus as the name of the opponent of Eugenius. But on what authority no one knows.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

by severe practical lessons, taught them that they had a master who was harder to reckon with than a Pope, who was generally one of their own citizens, and always more disposed to an easy and more merciful rule.

Growth of the influence of the Roman nobility in papal elections.

Here we cannot do better than translate a few remarks of the Jesuit, Father Lapôtre, on the growth of the influence of the nobility on papal elections, remarks eminently calculated to throw light on many episodes in the history of the popes.

"From being external (*i.e.* from the Byzantine emperors and from the Lombards), the danger to the papacy had become internal. From the time when the Pope came to hold within his hand all the great dignities of the State as well as those of the Church, when he had become, in a sense, the sole distributor of fortune and power, the lay aristocracy felt the need of taking a more active part in the election of the popes, and of organising round the Holy See a more energetic defence of its interests. Under the somewhat ambitious title of Roman Senate, all those whom riches, or the exercise of civil offices or military commands, had raised above the common level, formed themselves into a kind of privileged caste, by the side of the clerical order, and often in opposition to it. Masters of the army, the high positions of which they held, and consequently all-powerful with the middle class, the only division of the citizens which was enrolled in the *Roman army*, they scarcely left to the clergy influence over the proletariate. Thus, by degrees, they succeeded in deciding papal elections (*e.g.* in the case of Eugenius II. and Sergius II.); whereas formerly the laity, whether high or low, had in that matter no other right than that of recognising by their homage the candidate selected by the general assembly of the Roman clergy.

"Woe to the Pope who dared to look outside this

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

aristocratic ring for the chief members of his government; woe especially, if born in a lower sphere, he entered the papal palace accompanied by poor relations, anxious to advance themselves. Placed between the very natural desire of securing the prosperity of his own friends and the fear of discontenting the powerful families, it was hard for him to escape one or other of these dangers, viz., either of putting himself into unsafe hands, of confiding in strangers of doubtful fidelity, or of entrusting the direction of affairs to relations attached to him indeed, but ill fitted for the task.

"The political power of the Holy See was scarcely founded when there already began the melancholy rôle of certain papal families, of that nepotism from which the papacy has sometimes suffered so much."[1]

The possession of temporal power by the popes unquestionably brought them difficulties, but it would be utterly erroneous to suppose that the want of it would have freed them from all perils. The absence of it would have left them exposed to more substantial dangers.

Character of Eugenius.

To return to the election of Eugenius, whom, after what has been said, we may well suppose to have been one who was at least expected to sympathise with the nobility. Still, it must not be imagined that he was not a man of character. This may be the more readily believed when it is known that the abbot Wala worked hard to bring about the election of this same Eugenius, in the hope

[1] *Le Pape Jean VIII.*, p. 209 ff. The papacy has undoubtedly suffered from nepotism at various periods of its history; but I do not think that up to this epoch it had been affected by it. The fact which Lapôtre adduces to prove the contrary, viz., that it was a nephew of Hadrian I. who attacked Pope Leo III., only proves that Hadrian had a nephew who showed himself a bad man, and not that Hadrian had unduly advanced his nephews, which is the fault of nepotism.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that certain needed reforms would be effected by him.[1] The abbot himself, if an imperialist, was one of the most distinguished men of his age, not only by his birth and talents, but also by his virtue and zeal for reform—the Jeremiah of his time, as he was called. The new Pope was at least a man of a most conciliatory disposition. From the *Liber Pontificalis* we learn that before he became Pope he had, while in possession of the Church of St. Sabina on the Aventine, long ably fulfilled the duties of archpriest, that he was as learned as he was eloquent and handsome, and that he was generous to the widow and the orphan, and a despiser of the world. Day and night, his only wish was to do what was pleasing to Christ. When he became Pope he was apparently advanced in years, and was then especially distinguished for his humility and his love of peace.[2]

Lothaire comes to Rome, 824.

News of the election of Eugenius was sent to Louis by the subdeacon Quirinus. Then, to quote the exact words of Eginhard,[3] our best authority for this period, as he (Louis) was himself "intent on an expedition against Brittany, he determined to send to Rome his son and

[1] In his *life* he is said to have striven to secure the election of Eugenius "si quo modo per eum deinceps corrigerentur, quæ diu negligentius a plurimis fuerant depravata" (l. i. c. 28). Wala was not at Rome in person at the time of the election of Eugenius.

[2] "Ipse cum totius esset pacis amicus," etc. *L. P.* He greatly beautified his Church of St. Sabina after he became Pope. In the sixteenth century some of his work, bearing the name of Eugenius II., was still to be seen. *Cf.* Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 70. To-day an inscription in four distichs may be read in the right aisle, telling of the translation to S. Sabina's of a number of relics by a Pope Eugenius. Though Eugenius II. is doubtless meant, it is supposed that the leonine form of the verses shows the inscription to be at least a century later than his time. *Ib.* His biographer tells us of the great abundance of everything throughout almost the whole world in his time, and also of the general peace.

[3] Ad an. 824.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

partner in the empire, Lothaire, that in his stead he might, along with the new Pope and the Roman people, legislate (*statueret atque firmaret*) on what the state of the case seemed to require. (Lothaire) accordingly set out for Italy after the middle of August . . . . and was honourably received by the Pope. When the young emperor had made known his instructions to him, with the *benevolent assent* of the aforesaid Pontiff, he so reformed the condition of the Roman people, which by the perversity of some of the judges (or nobility—*præsulum*) had for some time been in an unsatisfactory state, that all who, owing to the unjust deprivation of their property were in great distress, were greatly consoled by its recovery which, through the grace of God, was brought about by his coming." That the gist of all this is that the party of the nobility which had been put down by Paschal now regained its property and position, is still clearer from the words of the Astronomer.[1] He tells us that Lothaire complained that of those who were true to the emperor and the Franks, some had been put to death and the others held up to ridicule, and that through the apathy and negligence of some of the popes, and the blind cupidity of the judges, many had been unjustly deprived of their property.

Restoration of exiles.

It would seem that some of these *judges*, *i.e.* noble functionaries of the opposition party of the late primicerius (Theodore), had been sent into exile in France, no doubt about the time of his murder. The only political notice in the short biography in the *Liber Pontificalis* is to the effect that "Roman judges, who had been detained

[1] *In vit. Lud. Pii.*, c. 38. Queritur "quare hi qui Imperatori et Francis fideles fuerunt, iniqua nece perempti fuerint; . . . . quare etiam tantæ querelæ adversus Romanorum Pontifices Judicesque sonarent; repertum est quod quorumdam Pontificum vel ignorantia," etc. The popes referred to will be Leo III. and Paschal. Hence the *præsules* of the Annals may mean or, at any rate, may include, the popes.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

as prisoners in France, returned to Rome during the reign of Eugenius, and that he not only allowed them to take possession of their ancestral property, but also helped them himself, as they were almost entirely without resources." [1]

The *concordat* of 824.

But it was no part of Lothaire's idea to leave the nobles supreme in Rome. If he was anxious to have a share in ruling the states of the Church, and so to interfere with the power of the Pope, he was just as determined that no one but the Pope and the emperor should have a voice in the government of Rome. He supported the power of the nobility to the extent above described, that they might act as a check on that of the Pope; but to keep them within bounds he published, with the Pope's consent, as Eginhard took care to add, a 'constitution' [2] in nine articles. If it hampered the Pope somewhat, he readily accepted it; because it would, had it been properly enforced, have effectually stopped the growing encroachments of the nobles. It was a veritable concordat agreed to between the Church and the State for their joint advantage.

It was to the following effect: "We decree, (1) that all who have been received under the protection of the Pope, or under ours, have the full benefit of this protection. And if anyone shall presume to violate it, let him know that his life is in question. For we make this decree that due obedience be paid in all things to the Pope, or to his dukes and judges appointed to administer justice." (2) The pillage of church property, which had up to this often been practised on the death of a Pope and sometimes even during his lifetime, was forbidden. (3) Any interference with papal elections on the part of

[1] *Cf.* the close of the first section of the constitution of 824: "In hoc capitulo fiat commemoratum de viduis et orfanis Theodori (the primicerius ?) Floronis et Sergii."

[2] Ap. *M. G. Capit.*, ed. Boretius, i. p. 323.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

those who had no right to take part in them was prohibited. (4) Every year, commissioners[1] were to be named by the Pope and the emperor, who were to inform the latter how the dukes (the governors of the cities) and judges performed their duties. Failure in this respect was to be corrected by the Pope, or, if he did not do so, by *missi* sent by the emperor. (5) The whole Roman people were to be asked under which law (the Roman, the Gothic, or the Lombard) each one elected to live, and then to be told that they must live up to or be judged by the law they had selected. (6) The imperial commissioners were to see to the restoration to the Roman Church of that portion of its property which had been usurped by the powerful. (7) Border pillaging was to be put down. (8) When the emperor was in Rome there had to appear before him the dukes, judges, and other officials, that he might know their number and names, and admonish them as to their duty. (9) Finally, "everyone who desires to obtain the favour of God and of us, must yield in all things obedience to the Roman Pontiff." To ensure the carrying out of this 'constitution,' we have the authority of the anonymous continuator[2] of Paul the Deacon for stating that Lothaire and the Pope caused the Romans to take oath as follows: "I promise, in the name of God Almighty, by the four Gospels, by this cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the body of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, that from this day forward I will be faithful to our lords the emperors, Louis and Lothaire, all the days of my life, to the utmost of my strength and ability, without guile, *saving the fidelity which I have promised to the sovereign Pontiff*; that I will not consent that the election

[1] It must be to this clause that we must reduce the language of the Astronomer (*ubi supra*) when he says, "Statutum est etiam, juxta antiquum morem, ut ex latere imperatoris mitterentur, qui judiciariam potestatem exercentes, justitiam omni populo facerent," etc.

[2] Ap. *M. G. SS. Rer. Lang.*, p. 203; or ap. Muratori, *R. I. S.*, I. ii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of a Pontiff for this See be made otherwise than in accordance with the canons and justice, and that the 'elect' shall not be consecrated[1] without taking, in the presence of the emperor's envoys and of the people, an oath like to the one which Pope Eugenius of his own accord took for the preservation of all."

Admitting the authenticity of this formula, it is clear that the fidelity which the Romans promised to the emperors was subordinate to that which they had to preserve to the Pope as their supreme lord. The oath to be taken by the Pope was the ordinary oath to rule justly which is taken by sovereigns at their coronation; or, as Doellinger[2] thinks, it was to express "his desire to show to the emperor the honour which was due to him as protector of the Church." When he had thus established for himself a position in the government of Rome, Lothaire took his departure.

The pallium for Adalramm.

Before he left, however, he witnessed the presentation by the Pope of a pallium to Adalramm, archbishop of Salzburg.[3] As the full signification of the giving of the

[1] "Electus . . . . consecratus non fiat, priusquam tale sacramentum faciat in præsentia Missi . . . . Imperatoris . . . . quale Eugenius sponte pro conservatione omnium factum habet per scriptum." *Ib.* Some writers question the authenticity of this oath, on the ground that it is given *only* by the anonymous continuator of Paul the Deacon; that the said continuator, in the opinion of some, was not a contemporary, and makes a chronological mistake with regard to the date of the coming of Lothaire to Rome; that there is no mention of this oath in other writers, either of this or of the subsequent periods; and that this oath was probably only a project of one of Lothaire's ministers. (*Cf.* Muratori, *Annal.*, ad an. 824; Hergenroether, *Hist.*, iii. 166.) There is certainly no clear mention of any *confirmation* of the papal election either in this oath or in the 'privilegium' of Otho (962), which seems to be founded—for this part of its text—on the documents of 824. And, as a matter of fact, it is not till the election of Gregory IV. that we read of any imperial confirmation.

[2] *Hist.*, iii. 121 (Eng. trans.).

[3] *Cf. Conversio Bagoar. et Carant.*, c. 9, ap. *M. G. SS.*, xi. 10.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

pallium is brought out by the letter[1] of the emperor Louis asking Eugenius to bestow it, that letter is worth quoting. "Our faithful servant, Adalramm, the archbishop of the Church of Salzburg," writes the emperor, "has earnestly asked us to grant him permission to visit the shrine of the blessed apostles, and to commend him to your Holiness. To his just request we have assented; and we beg you to give him a gracious reception and to bestow upon him *the pallium of your sacred authority* (*illi pallium sanctæ auctoritatis vestræ largiri dignemini*). For his predecessors have been wont to receive from yours *the pallium of apostolic authority*. And so, strengthened by your Holiness's blessing and authority, he may be able to raise his people to a higher spiritual level."

Affairs of the East.

Probably whilst Lothaire was still in Rome, there arrived envoys as well from the emperor Louis as from the Greeks on the interminable image question. In the beginning of his reign the emperor Michael II., known as the Stammerer and the Armorian, though always an iconoclast, showed himself tolerant. The Studite returned to Constantinople. Under the pretence of bringing about a settlement of the difficulties respecting 'images,' Michael endeavoured to bring about a joint synod of the iconoclasts and the orthodox (821). But the latter knew the character of the man with whom they were dealing, and declared[2] that they could not sit in synod on equal terms with heretics already condemned; and that, if there was a point which the emperor did not consider had been properly cleared up by the patriarchs, he should submit it to the decision of old Rome, for such was the most ancient custom. "That Church was the head of all the churches of God. It had had Peter for its first bishop, to whom the Lord had said, 'Thou art Peter,'" etc. (S. Matt. xvi. 18).

[1] Ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 313.

[2] Mansi, xiv. 399.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The Studite, in a letter[1] to the treasurer Leo, pointed out the proper conditions under which any such assembly could be held. "If there is a wish to put an end to the division, the patriarch Nicephorus must be re-established in the See of Constantinople. He must then assemble those who have along with him fought for the truth; and there must come together, if possible, deputies from the other patriarchs, or at least from the patriarch of the West (*i.e.* of course the bishop of Rome), who gives authority to an œcumenical council; and if that is impossible, everything could be settled by synodical letters which our patriarch could send to the first See (Rome). If the emperor does not agree to this, it is necessary to send to Rome, and thence receive the certain decision of the faith."[2]

Michael writes to Louis, 824.

Failing in his attempt to win over the Catholics, Michael showed himself directly hostile to them; and when his overthrow of the pretender Thomas (823) left him freer to turn his attention to matters of dogma, he pursued them with severity. Many fled to Rome. To prevent them from finding a home there, he endeavoured to induce

[1] Epp., l. ii. 129.

[2] It will be of interest to note, in passing, that the doctrine of the Studite with regard to the authority of the popes in the matter of general councils was that of the whole Greek Church at this period, as proclaimed by the patriarch of Constantinople, St. Nicephorus, the friend of the Studite. In his apology for 'Sacred Images,' written about 817, whilst speaking of the Second Council of Nice, he says: "Hæc Synodus summæ auctoritatis est, atque ad plenam fidem faciendam sufficiens; quia et œcumenicus fuit. . . . Etenim celebrata fuit . . . . in primis *legitime*; nam, secundum edita antiquitus *divina decreta*, *præeminebat* in ea *præsidebatque* ex *occidentali fastigio*, id est ex vetere Roma, pars non modica; *sine quibus* (Romanis) *ullum dogma* quod in ecclesia ventilatum, decretis canonicis et *sacerdotali consuetudine* fuerit antea ratum, nunquam tamen *probatum habebitur*, neque in praxim deducetur; quia illi *sacerdotii principatum* sortiti sunt, eamque dignitatem a duobus coryphæis apostolis traditum habent." *P. G.*, t. 100, p. 598, or ap. Mai, *Nova Pat. Bib.*, v. 174. The Greek text is on p. 30.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the emperor Louis to act along with him. He accordingly despatched an embassy to Louis with a long letter,[1] addressed, to flatter him, 'to our dear brother.' "Michael and Theophilus, emperors of the Romans, to our dear and honoured brother Louis, king of the Franks and Lombards, and called their emperor." After giving a false account of his accession to the throne, and stating his desire for peace with Louis, Michael asserts his wish to promote religious unity among his subjects, some of whom have gone astray from the traditions of the apostles. He says that they have replaced the Holy Cross by images, and that they burn incense before them, and practise all manner of superstitious rites in connection with them. Later on in his letter, utterly blind to his inconsistency in venerating the cross and relics, and not holy images, he declares that he venerates (*cum fide veneramur*) relics—and this whilst professing his orthodoxy to the Frank. He wants Louis to drive out of Rome those of his (Michael's) image-worshipping subjects who have fled thither. Finally, seeking the honour of the Church of Christ, he assures Louis that, by the hands of the same ambassadors whom he has sent to him, he has forwarded a letter to the Pope, and as an offering to the Church of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, a copy of the Gospels and a chalice and paten of pure gold, enriched with precious stones. In conclusion, the emperor is asked to give the Greek ambassadors an honourable safe-conduct to Rome.

Eugenius and the iconoclast controversy.

These envoys came before Louis at Rouen at the close of the year, said they had been sent for the sake of confirming the peace between the two empires, and put forth "certain points concerning the veneration of images,

[1] Mansi, xiv. 417. The letter is dated April 10, 824: "Honorificas et vivificas cruces de sacris templis expellebant, et in eadem loca imagines statuebant."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in connection with which they declared that they had to go to Rome to consult the bishop of the apostolic See."[1] Thither, in accordance with their wishes, Louis caused the Greeks to be escorted. But, before acceding to their desires in the affair of the images, he wished to have the consent of the Pope. Hence with the Greeks he despatched two of his own bishops to ask[2] Eugenius to allow the Frank bishops to search out, in the writings of the Fathers, passages to meet the case which the Greek envoys had come to have settled. The leave was granted, and Louis ordered an assembly of divines to meet at Paris, 825.

The Assembly at Paris, 825.

Influenced by the Greeks, but still more by recollections of the Council of Frankfort (794) and the Caroline Books, the committee of bishops, for it was not a synod, came together in Paris (November 1, 825). They not only made a collection of extracts from the 'Fathers,' which they believed tended to show that images should be neither destroyed on the one hand, nor honoured on the other, but they also drew[3] up drafts of two letters which were to be sent, one in the name of the emperor Louis to the Pope, and the other in the Pope's name to the Greek emperor. The Paris assembly showed itself as ignorant of the real teaching of the seventh General Council as had the Council of Frankfort. 'Your advocates' (*oratores vestri*), as the committee style themselves in their introductory address to the emperors Louis and Lothaire, proceeded to approve the

[1] Einhard, ad an. 824.

[2] *Cf. ep. Ludov. et Loth.*, ap Mansi, xv., append., p. 437. Eugenius concedit "ut sacerdotibus eorum (impp.) liceat de libris SS. patrum sententias quærere atque colligere, quæ ad rem, pro qua Grecorum legati ipsum consulturi sint, veraciter definiendam convenire possint."

[3] The doings of this assembly, with a few introductory remarks by Cardinal Bellarmine, are printed ap. *P. L.*, t. 98, p. 1293 f. Of the document drawn up by the Paris assembly, Bellarmine succinctly observes that it displays "dictio barbara, sententiæ insulsæ, ordo perversus, eorumdem testimoniorum crebra repetitio." *Ib.*, p. 1300.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

letter of Pope Hadrian to Constantine and Irene on the image question, in so far as it condemned the breaking of images, and to reject it in so far as it countenanced their 'superstitious adoration.'[1] They next treated the seventh General Council in the same way, condemning it for teaching that images were not only to be reverenced and adored, but called holy and acknowledged as a source of sanctification.[2] And with that supreme self-confidence, of which ignorance is the sole progenitor, they assured Louis that Hadrian, in his reply to certain strictures[3] on the seventh General Council sent him by Charlemagne "to be corrected by his judgment and authority," had said, "what he chose, and not what he ought." This remark, they were good enough to say, they made without the slightest intention of asserting anything derogatory to the Pope's authority. For, by professing his intention of standing by the doctrine of Pope Gregory the Great, Hadrian had made it clear that he erred only through ignorance. From the report of the envoys of Louis, who had conducted the Greek ambassadors to Rome, they had learnt how deeply rooted the 'image superstition' had there become. They acknowledge the difficulty of correcting that church (viz., the Church of Rome) whose right it is to keep others in the true path, from which up to this it has never itself wandered. But they think that the emperor's plan of getting leave from that authority itself to make a selection of suitable passages from scripture and the Fathers, would, when completed, compel it, *nolens volens*, to yield to the

[1] *Ib.* "Quod superstitiose eas adorare jussit."

[2] "Qui (the Fathers of the Council) eas (imagines) non solum coli et adorari, et sanctas nuncupari sanxerunt, verum etiam sanctimoniam ab eis se adipisci professi sunt." *Ib.*

[3] The 'Caroline Books' are here alluded to. 'Quæ voluit, non tamen quæ decuit respondere conatus est." *Ib.* "Remota pontificali auctoritate." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

truth—viz., as taught by the most blessed Pope Gregory. The collection of texts which they have made, they present to the emperor to select such as he should consider 'pertinent.' They add, with perfect truth, that the collection might have been better; but point out that they have only had a short time[1] to prepare it, and that one of their number was prevented by ill-health from joining them.

The collection which they give is divided into two parts, one, much the smaller, is directed against the image-breakers; the longer part is directed against what were supposed by the committee to be the tenets of the image-worshippers. Such an assemblage of texts as is contained in the second part of the collection could indeed only have been drawn up by men who were in a blind hurry, or who had either wholly forgotten, or had never understood, what they were trying to prove. Many of the texts are not in the least *ad rem*, and some even *clearly* prove the opposite of that for which the committee were contending, *e.g.* the passages from St. Basil (p. 1326). To throw light on the seventh General Council, they lay down what that council had already done, *i.e.* that the worship of 'latria' (absolute worship) was to be given to God alone. And with curious inconsistency they grant an honour to the 'cross of Christ' which they deny to His image.

In that portion of the scheme of the letter to be sent by Louis to the Pope which has come down to us—for many portions of the committee's report are wanting—the position of the Pope as Head of the Church is set forth,[2] and he is reminded of the permission he had given in the matter of 'the collection.'

[1] Louis received their report on December 6. *Ib.*, p. 1348.

[2] To strike at the ambition of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Louis is made to say of the Pope that a special name has been decreed to

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

In the longer letter which the committee proposed that the Pope should send to the Greek emperors, he was to establish what it proclaimed to be, the true doctrine, viz., that images were neither to be 'adored' nor honoured, but at each one's pleasure to be kept as souvenirs or means of instruction.

As a matter of fact, however, Louis did not fully carry out the recommendations of the Paris assembly. He[1] instructed Jeremiah, archbishop of Sens, and Jonas, bishop of Orleans, who were to convey to the Pope the results of the deliberations at Paris, to make suitable extracts from the Parisian document, and with modesty to try to win the Pope over to their views. Further, in a letter[2] of his own composing he assured Eugenius that he had no intention, in sending him what his bishops had put together, of teaching him, but only of helping him, as in duty bound.

Here, as far as the records of history go, the affair ends. Probably convinced that, in the matter of image-worship, things were really on the right lines in France, Eugenius, in imitation of the conduct of Pope Hadrian on a similar occasion, did not pursue the question. Equally probably, too, the more accurate translation of the Acts of the seventh General Council, published by the librarian Anastasius under John VIII. (872–882), prevented anything more being heard of the subject in that country.

Fortunatus of Grado, 824.

With the ambassadors of Michael to Louis, in 824, there came Fortunatus, the patriarch of Grado, part of whose chequered career has been already noticed. The events of this the last year of his life are interesting as showing

him by the Holy Church of God "ut solus non sua abusione, sed tantorum app. auctoritate universalis papa dicatur, scribatur, et ab omnibus habeatur." *Ib.*, p. 1337.

[1] *Ib.*, p. 1348. [2] *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the good understanding between Louis and the Pope. Elected patriarch in 803 as successor to the murdered John who was his relation, Fortunatus had to flee from the vengeance of the Doge of Venice, also called John, against whom he was accused of plotting to avenge his relative. He fled to Charlemagne, through whose influence he returned to Italy (806), and to his church a year later. As he had been restored through the interest of the Franks, he thought it better to take refuge[1] amongst them when a powerful Greek fleet under Nicetas came into the Venetian waters. When that danger was passed, he again returned, only to have to flee again. This time he was accused of treachery to the Franks and with favouring the Duke of Lower Pannonia, Liudevitus, who had rebelled[2] against the emperor. Unable, or unwilling, to stand his trial, he fled to the court of the Eastern emperor. Thence he came to Louis with the ambassadors of Michael in 824. He had no doubt obtained some kind of a promise of the good offices of the Greeks. However, we are expressly told by Einhard[3] that the ambassadors "did not say a word for Fortunatus." After Louis had examined[4] him as to his conduct and flight to Constantinople, he refrained from passing sentence on him one way or another, but sent him to Rome to be tried by the Pope. This would seem to imply that though Fortunatus was guilty, Louis respected his episcopal character, and consequently would not condemn him himself. How the intriguing patriarch would have fared at the hands of Eugenius is known to God alone. For it pleased Him to call

[1] Dandolo, *in Chron.*, l. vii. c. 15; and especially the chronicle (c. 2, p. 100, etc., ed. Monticolo) of John the Deacon.

[2] Einhard, ad an. 818–821.

[3] Ad an. 824. "Pro Fortunato nihil locuti sunt."

[4] *Ib.* "Fortunatum etiam de causa fugæ ipsius percontatus, ad examinandum eum Romano pontifici direxit (imperator)."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Fortunatus to His own judgment seat before[1] he had quitted France.

Council of Rome, 826.

Next year (826) we read of a serious illness[2] of the Pope, and of embassies[3] passing to and fro between him and Louis. It may be that the backward state of education in Italy was one of the subjects dealt with by these envoys. However that may be, the secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Italy, about this time, made serious efforts to improve the standard of education throughout the country. The barbarous ignorance of the Lombards had swamped learning in their own dominions, and their constant wars had prevented its pursuit in the adjoining countries. Hence, about this year, the emperor Lothaire, from Cortelona, some twelve miles from Pavia, issued a decree,[4] in which the masters he has constituted in the different cities, which he enumerates, are urged to do their best for learning, which, "in every direction, is wholly extinct." The emperor also provided suitable places where instruction could be imparted. With the action of the emperor we have no further concern here than to point out that in the list of cities there are, of course, none mentioned that belonged to the jurisdiction of the Pope, or, indeed, to that of the Duke of Beneventum.

But, towards the close of this year, Eugenius presided

[1] Dandolo, *ib.*, viii. c. 1.

[2] *Translat. S. Sebast.*, ap. Mab., *AA. SS. O. S. B.*, iv., pt. i., 390.

[3] *Ib.*, and Einhard, *Annal.*, ad an. 826.

[4] Ap. *R. I. S.*, I. ii. 151. By Muratori, indeed, the edict is dated, in one place 823, but in another he says that it is uncertain in what year it was issued. Probably it was after 823. *Cf.* on this and other matters connected with this most interesting decree, Tiraboschi, *Storia del. Let. It.*, iii. 157 f. "Doctrina . . . . quæ . . . . cunctis in locis est funditus extincta." According to Gregorovius (iii. 138 n.) the exact date is May 825, and so the capitulary is dated, ap. Boretius, i. 326.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

over a council of some sixty bishops, his immediate suffragans, in Rome, November 15, 826. Whether or not he was too ill to compose and read an opening address, the introductory harangue of this council was the same as the one given at the Roman Council of 721, and was read by a deacon in the Pope's name. Among the thirty-eight canons[1] there passed, which dealt for the most part with the reformation of ecclesiastical discipline, the fourth ordains that ignorant bishops or priests be suspended till they have acquired sufficient knowledge to be able to perform their sacred functions; and the thirty-fourth canon states[2] that in some places there are neither masters nor zeal for learning, and that consequently, where there is need, masters are to be attached to the episcopal palaces, cathedral churches, and other places, to give instruction in sacred and polite literature. From the Pope's decree it would certainly seem that if, as in the kingdom of Lombardy, learning was not in great demand, it was nothing like so backward in the papal dominions as in the kingdom of Italy. If what is stated by Cardinal Deusdedit (i. 123) be the fact, viz., that this council occupied itself with papal elections "a sacerdotibus seu primatibus, nobilibus seu cuncto concilio Romanæ Ecclesiæ," then we may be sure that it was summoned to deliberate, among other matters, on the Constitution of 824. How it viewed it we have unfortunately no means of ascertaining.

Throughout the period of the Carolingian Empire, Christianity in Moravia.

[1] They may be read in the different collections of the councils, or in Hefele, *Conc.*, v. 243 (Fr. ed.).

[2] "De quibusdam locis ad nos refertur, non magistros neque curam inveniri pro studiis litterarum. Idcirco in universis episcopiis, subjectisque plebibus, et aliis locis, in quibus necessitas occurrerit, omnino cura et diligentia habeatur, ut magistri et doctores, constituantur, qui studia litterarum et liberalium artium ac sancta habentes dogmata, assidue doceant," etc. This canon was also confirmed by a thirty-fourth canon of Leo IV., ad an. 854.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Christianity continued to be propagated among the Slavs and Scandinavians, eastwards and northwards, where these peoples came in contact with it. Among the various Slavic tribes the faith of Christ was introduced along with the conquering armies of Charlemagne and his successors, and at this time had made some little progress among the Moravians. This Slavic people took their name from the Morava (March), a tributary of the Danube, the valley of which they had occupied since the year 534. During the reign of Eugenius, and for some time after, they were subject to the empire, and had not acquired that extent of territory which was afterwards theirs. In ancient times, before Christianity in those regions had been swept away by the ravages of the Huns or Avars, Noricum and the adjoining parts were ecclesiastically subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Laureacum, or Lorch, on the Danube, according to the arrangement of Pope Symmachus. Word of the spread of Christianity in Moravia was brought to Rome (about 825) by Urolf, bishop of Passau; and it is sometimes *said* that Eugenius, by a bull[1] which is still extant,[2] and which is addressed to the four bishops[3] who were to be his suffragans, to two dukes, and to the nobles, army, and people of 'Hunnia and Moravia,' restored the archiepiscopal See of Lorch; named Urolf, its first archbishop and his vicar; and gave him the pallium. Nobles and commoners were alike exhorted by the Pope to obey their new archbishop, "not as a man, but as in the place of God." But even supposing that the document is genuine,

[1] Card. Hergenroether, *Hist. de l'Église*, ii. 99; iii. p. 513, calls the authenticity of this bull in question; and it seems now to be generally admitted that it is spurious. *Cf.* Jaffé, 2566.

[2] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 989. *Cf.* Jaffé, 2566 (1946). Yrolfus "novam ecclesiam nostris apostolicis benedictionibus informandam subnixe, commendavit."

[3] Two of their Sees were in Moravia.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

either because the state of Christianity among the Moravians was not sufficiently satisfactory to allow of the decree of Eugenius coming into operation, or because no successor of Urolf's zeal was immediately forthcoming, it is certain that after his death (*c.* 837), we hear no more of the archdiocese of Lorch. It was reserved for SS. Cyril and Methodius really to convert the Moravian nation, and for another Pope, a century later (Leo VII., *c.* 937), to re-erect the metropolitan See of Lorch. At any rate, although the bull of Eugenius is apocryphal, there is no reason to doubt that the conversion of the Slavs, which was the work of the ninth century, was making headway whilst he occupied the See of Peter.

Scandinavia and Ansgar.

The noble mission of imparting the truths of Christianity to the Scandinavians, a people allied in blood, language, and religion to the Germans, and who at this period held Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, we have seen taken up personally by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, and then abandoned by him. The work thus laid down by him was resumed by Ansgar,[1] a monk first of old Corbie, in Picardy, and then of the new Corbie, in Saxony, near Hoexter on the Weser. He was soon deservedly known as the Apostle of the North. The baptism[2] of Heriold, or Harald, king of Denmark, or rather of part of it,[3] at Ingelheim, near Mayence, in 826, once more directed attention to the advancement of Christianity in that country. Harald, who had been driven from his kingdom in this year, resolved, when restored to his power by the aid of Louis, to whom he did homage, to establish Christianity throughout the land. It was with him that Ansgar, who had been recom-

[1] See his *life* by Rimbert, his disciple and successor, and eye-witness of his works, natural and supernatural, ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii., or *P. L.*, t. 118.

[2] Einhard, ad an. 826. *Cf.* Ermoldus, *Carm.*, l. iv. p. 68 ff., for full particulars.

[3] Rimbert, c. 7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

mended to the emperor by Wala, went into Denmark, and it was "Ansgar[1] and his companions" whom Pope Eugenius "commended to all the sons of the Catholic Church." This must have been at the close of 826 or the beginning of 827, as it was in the latter year that Ansgar started for Denmark.

Some interesting details of the work of Harald and Ansgar are to be found in *Saxo Grammaticus*,[2] who, though he lived long after these events (*c.* 1150, †after 1208), is always deserving of attention. "Trusting in these (viz., his Saxon auxiliaries), Harald built a temple in the land of Sleswik with much care and cost, to be hallowed to God. Thus he borrowed a pattern of the most holy way from the worship of Rome. He unhallowed the error of misbelievers, pulled down the shrines, outlawed the sacrificers, abolished the (heathen) priesthood, and was the first to introduce the religion of Christianity to his uncouth country. . . . But he began with more piety than success. For Ragnar (Lodbrog, or Shaggy-Breech) came up and outraged the holy rites he had brought in. . . . As for Harald, he deserted and cast in his lot with sacrilege."[3] Though drawn from one of the mythical books of Saxo's work, the account is no doubt substantially accurate. And if the apostasy of Harald is called in question,[4] it seems established that another expulsion of Harald (828) put a stop to the good work that Ansgar had commenced in

[1] Jaffé, 2564 (1947).

[2] He wrote his *Hist. Danorum* in sixteen books. Of these the first nine are in the main but a collection of myths and folk-lore. They have been translated into English by Elton (London, 1894). The later books "are the chief Danish authority for the times which they relate." The best edition of his work is by Holder, Strasburg, 1886. There are extracts from it in *M. G. SS.*, xxix.

[3] L. ix. p. 379–80 (Eng. trans.).

[4] *Cf. St. Anschaire*, by Mgr. de Ram (p. 61. n. 3), ap. *Analectes pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. de la Belgique*, ii. 1865.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Schleswig.[1] He had to earn his title of Apostle of the North from work that he was destined to accomplish in the northern Scandinavian peninsula.

The ordeal by 'cold water.'

In a very old document belonging to the Church of Rheims, and thought by Mabillon,[2] who discovered it, to date from the ninth century, there was found a rite for conducting the ordeal by cold water, as prescribed by Eugenius. So strongly were many ancient peoples, and especially the Germans, attached to 'trial by ordeal,' or to submitting the decision of legal cases to what they were pleased to call 'the judgments of God,' that, to begin with, neither Pope, emperor, nor king could suppress this objectionable practice. Liutprand, the Lombard law-making king, whilst pointing out the futility of trial by battle, had to acknowledge that the custom of his nation prevented him from doing away with the impious habit.[3] And so even Louis the Pious, who, in his capitularies, first approves and then condemns the ordeal by *cold water*, continued to allow difficulties which could not be settled by the testimony of witnesses to be settled by 'shields and clubs'—"*cum scutis et fustibus in campo decertent.*"[4]

But the Church endeavoured to minimise the evils which resulted from trial by ordeal. She strove to abolish such as were very dangerous to life; to substitute 'compurgation'; and, by taking the conduct of the ordeals into her

[1] *Cf.* Einhard, an. 828, and the Astronomer, ap. *P. L.*, t. 104, p. 957. The break in Ansgar's work is not clear from Rimbert. But he does say (*l. c., sub fin.*): "Quia interdum pacifice in regno suo Herioldus rex consistere non poterat, dedit ei memoratus augustus ultra Albian beneficium," etc.

[2] Published by him in his *Analect. Vet.*, i., and thence ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 985.

[3] "Incerti sumus de judiciis Dei . . . . sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostræ legem impiam vitare non possumus." *Cf.* Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vi. 392 f., on the laws of Liutprand.

[4] Boretius, *Capit.*, i. 268.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

hands, to see at least that they were accompanied with solemnity and fairness. Trial by battle, indeed, the Church never tolerated. And in this ninth century we find it denounced by bishop, council, and Pope alike. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in a letter (*c.* 817) to the emperor Louis[1] urges that, "as combats of this kind are quite contrary to Christian simplicity and piety, and utterly opposed to the teaching of the Gospel, no Christian ought to seek to avoid the difficulties, or seek to obtain the joys of this world by trial by battle." The Council of Valence (can. 12, an. 855) not only decrees that those who die in such 'judicial combats' be deprived of prayers and Christian burial, but calls upon the emperor to confirm its decree, and himself by public law to abolish this great evil. And among the decrees attributed to Nicholas I. is one[2] which declares that 'single combat' is illegal; and that those who pin their faith to such judgments of God "are simply tempting Him." However, as the Church could not do away with them all at once, it was found necessary for a time, as we have seen, to tolerate some kinds of them.

A very early[3] form of ordeal was that 'by cold water.' The person whose innocence was to be tested was fast bound, and then immersed in water. If he did not sink he was guilty. It is in connection with this particular 'ordeal' that we have a regulation[4] of Eugenius II. prescribing the form to be observed when it was put in practice—the Mass to be sung; the solemn adjuration to be addressed to the accused at the 'Communion'; the giving to him of the body of Our Lord, with the words, "May the body and

[1] Ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 161.

[2] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 1200.

[3] *Cf.* Pagi, *Brev., in vit. Eug.*, n. 16, quoting Gregory of Tours, to show the antiquity of trial 'by cold water.'

[4] It begins: "Cum homines vis mittere ad probationem, ita facere debes."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ be to you as a trial this day"; and the oath to be taken by the accused.

The MS. concluded by stating that the form just given by it was ordered by Eugenius.[1] That this form was really his work is denied by some authors, as the authority of this anonymous MS. is not thought by them sufficiently weighty.

A year after the death of Eugenius, the emperor Louis made (829) a vain attempt[2] to abolish trial by 'cold water.' It was finally condemned by Innocent III. at the fourth Lateran[3] Council (1215).

We cannot bring to a close the life of Eugenius without saying a word or two in connection with his relations with the abbot Hilduin, one of the most important Franks of his day. It is the more interesting to say something about him, because we have quoted his *Areopagitica*, or *life* of St. Denis, or really the apocryphal letter of the emperor Louis to him prefixed to that work, as an authority for the vision of Pope Stephen (II.) III. in the Church of St. Denis (754). The abbot, besides being archchaplain of the emperor Louis, and abbot of St. Denis in Paris, had been also named abbot of St. Germain-des-Prés in the same city, and abbot of St. Medard in Soissons. He accompanied the young Lothaire to Rome in 824, and seems to have won the affection and esteem of the Pope. For, at his request, Eugenius not merely confirmed[4] in its possessions Hilduin.

[1] "Hoc judicium . . . . per domnum Eugenium apostolicum inventum est."

[2] "Examen aquæ frigidæ . . . . interdicatur." *M. G. Capit.*, ii. 7, 16, ed. Boretius. On this subject of *ordeals*, *cf.* Pagi, *ubi sup.*; Alzog, ii. 113; Hergenroether, iii. 156 ff.; Lingard, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 118 ff.

[3] Twelfth General Council, can. 18.

[4] Jaffé, 2562 (1950). Hilduin, who was made abbot of St. Denis in 814, died 840. Some, indeed, dispute the authenticity of this document. But it is powerfully supported by comparison with the letter of Hadrian to Maginarius, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. p. 1.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the Church of St. Peter's at Rouen, but even gave him the body of the great martyr, St. Sebastian, which Hilduin placed in his abbey of St. Medard. And we are assured by Einhard,[1] that whilst the relics of the saint were there exposed, so many and such extraordinary miracles were worked as would exceed our power of belief, did we not know that Our Lord, for whom the saint died, can do all things, as all things are subject to Him.

Coin of Eugenius.

We have of this Pope a silver grosso, bearing on the obverse the name of Eugenius in a monogram (Eugis) and Scs. Petrus, and on the reverse 'Roma' in the form of a cross, and Ludovvicus Imp.[2]

Death of Eugenius.

Eugenius died 'in the month of August' (827), as we are informed by Einhard.[3] It is *supposed* that, in accordance with the custom of this period, his body was buried in St. Peter's, for no mention of his burial-place occurs in the *Liber Pontificalis*, nor is any tomb in the old basilica marked as his in the elaborate plan of it published by Alfarano in 1589.

[1] Einhard, ad an. 826.
[2] Cinagli and Promis, *Monete*.
[3] Ad an. 827.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

VALENTINE

A.D. 827.

Sources.—The *life* in the *Book of the Popes*, which is long in proportion to the very short reign of Valentine, and rather poetical in style. Duchesne[1] notes that this biography shows us that, as soon as a Pope was installed, it was customary to begin to draw up a notice of his life up to that point. The length of this preliminary notice in the present instance would seem to show that a glorious pontificate was anticipated.

Emperors of the East.	Emperor of the West.
Leo VI. (the Armenian), 813–820.	Louis I. the Pious, 814–840.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	

Valentine elected, Aug. 827.

As the period of the vacancy of the Holy See on the death of Eugenius is nowhere stated by our authorities, it can only be laid down as probable that Valentine was elected soon after the death of his predecessor.

Early history and character.

He was of that city which, his biographer proudly notes, "holds the dignity of the chief priesthood and of the royal[2] power," and came of noble and pious parents. His father's name is given as Leontius, and the place of his birth as the

[1] *L. P.*, ii. p. iii.

[2] Roma "quæ, Deo auctore, summi sacerdotii, et regalis excellentiæ retinet." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

region of the Via Lata,[1] at this time the aristocratic quarter of Rome. From his earliest years he gave every sign of a good heart, and of an extraordinary ability. The vain and wicked pleasures of the young nobles were shunned by him. But, under skilled masters, he devoted himself to the acquisition of sacred and profane learning. The beautifying effect of this training on his mind showed itself in his words and works.

Pope Paschal, moved by the fame of the youth's excellent character, brought him from the school attached to the Lateran palace, ordained him subdeacon, and kept him near him. On account of his conspicuous qualities[2] of mind, heart, and person, he entertained a more than ordinary regard for him, and finally made him archdeacon of the Roman Church. Valentine found the same favour in the eyes of Eugenius, who treated him as his own son.

His election.

On the death of the last-named Pontiff, there gathered together in the Lateran "the venerable[3] bishops, the glorious nobles, and all the people of the city." With one accord they cried out, "Valentine, the most holy archdeacon, is worthy of the Apostolic See; Valentine must be made Pope!" All then hurried off to the Church of St. Mary Major, where they found the object of their search in prayer. No notice was taken of his long and earnest declarations that he was utterly unworthy of so great a dignity. He was declared duly elected.

Enthronisation of the Pope.

Then, in reversion of the usual order, as had also happened in the case of Benedict III., he was enthroned

[1] The seventh civil and fifth ecclesiastical region.

[2] "Erat enim sermone affabilis, doctrina clarus, vultu conspicuus." *Ib.*

[3] "Collectis igitur in unum venerabilibus episcopis, et gloriosis Romanorum proceribus, omnique amplæ urbis populo in palatio Lateranensi . . . . unius voluntatis consensu fortiter acclamatum est," etc. *L. P.* Valentinus "a Romanis et electus et ordinatus." *Ann. Einh.*, 827.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

before he was consecrated. For we are told that, with every manifestation of joy and honour, Valentine was escorted to the Lateran palace and seated on the pontifical throne. His feet were duly kissed 'by the whole Roman senate,' and early on the first suitable day he was consecrated in St. Peter's. As no mention is made of the presence of the imperial *missi*, it may be presumed that they were not there. After the consecration was over, the Pope gave a splendid banquet and presents to the whole electoral body.[1]

The nobility in pontifical elections.

The election of Valentine was another triumph for the nobility. Not only did they secure the nomination of one of their own body, but it is again recorded that they themselves took part in the election. By the decree of the Roman Council of 769, under Stephen (III.) IV., it had been definitely laid down that the choice of the Pope was to be in the hands of the clergy alone, that anyone who opposed their rights in this matter was to be anathematised, and that only after he had been chosen and enthroned were the nobility and the rest of the laity to come to salute him 'as the lord of all.'[2] But now we see "the party of the nobles gaining the upper hand," and once more claiming a voice in the election of the popes. Even if they did not secure their point in the time of Eugenius II., they certainly did in the days of Nicholas I.[3] The share they secured in the ninth century became the preponderating one in the tenth. And the way in which they then exercised their sway was the best justification for their being finally

[1] "Donis sacram plebem, et senatum, populumque Romanum optime ditavit." *Ib.*

[2] *Cf* the decree as given by Card. Deusdedit, *Collect. Can.*, ii. n. 131, p. 240 ff., ed. Martinucci.

[3] "Si quis sacerdotibus seu primatibus, *nobilibus* seu cuncto clero . . . . Rom. ecclesiæ electionem Rom. pontificis contradicere præsumpserit . . . . anathema sit." Mansi, *Conc.*, xv. p. 659.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

deprived, in the eleventh century, of all the position they had secured.

Death of Valentine, Sept. 827.

Unfortunately the prosperous reign that might have been looked for after such a promising beginning was destined never to be realised. 'By a precious death,' Valentine went to meet his Lord after a reign of from thirty to forty days.[1]

Coins.

Short as was his reign, coins were struck bearing his name. There are still extant two denarii of his. On the obverse, in a monogram (Valens) is the Pope's name, along with the 'Scs. Petrus.' The reverse contains in the middle 'Imp.' and the name 'Ludovvicus' round it.[2]

[1] 'Forty' according to his biographer; 'under a month' according to Einhard, ad an. 827. With regard to the place of his burial, we can only say what we said of that of Eugenius II.

[2] Cinagli and Promis.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

GREGORY IV.

A.D. 827–844.

Sources.—Although the *life* of this Pope in the *Liber Pontificalis* occupies over ten quarto pages, practically nothing of his political action can be gathered from it. After a notice of his character and election, there follows nothing but an enumeration of his building operations, and especially of his gifts to various churches. Yet its author was strictly a contemporary; for when he assures us that, in building 'Gregoriopolis,' Gregory had done what no other Pope had done, viz., built a city, he was evidently writing before either the 'Leonine city,' or that of 'Leopolis' of Pope Leo IV. (†855), had been built. The oft-mentioned *lives* of the emperor Louis, the annals of Einhard, etc., and the *life* of Wala will have then to be our principal authorities. To these we may now add (1) the writings of Agobard (†840), who had been consecrated archbishop of Lyons in 813, took part along with other malcontent bishops and nobles, with the sons of Louis against their father, and lost his See on the defeat of his party. However, after the peace of 837 between Louis and Lothaire, he was allowed to return to it. He was one of the best and most learned bishops of his age. His works may be found ap. *P. L.*, t. 104. (2) The *Historiæ* of Nithard (ap. *P. L.*, t. 116), the grandson of Charlemagne, and consequently nephew of Louis, to whom he was very much attached. He wrote his history at the command of Charles, the Bald, and has the distinction of being the first lay historian of the Middle Ages. He treats of the unhappy troubles between Louis and his children, and is considered the best authority on that subject. Like Thegan and the Astronomer, he

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

favours the emperor Louis. His *Historiæ*, in four books, is also to be found in *M. G. SS.*, ii., and printed separately, *M. G., in usum scholarum.* There are scarcely half-a-dozen of his genuine letters, etc. (ap. *P. L.*, tt. 106 and 129), extant.

Modern Works.—Cf. A. Himly's interesting and clever work, *Wala et Louis le Débonnaire*, Paris, 1849.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	Louis the Pious, 814–840.
Theophilus, 829–842.	Lothaire I., 823–855.
Theodora and Michael III., 842–856.	

The times. EVIL were the days in which fell the pontificate of Gregory IV., not so much for any particular ill that overtook the Pope himself as for the troubles which overtook the empire, and for the further development of the causes which, before the end of this ninth century, were to bring so much misery on Europe and degradation on the papacy. A monastic (Xanten) chronicler, who wrote brief jottings of the events of this period, interrupts them with the sorrowful remark: "At this time the kingdom of the Franks was terribly troubled within itself, and the wretchedness of men was daily greatly increased." "All fear of kings or laws has faded from the hearts of many"[1] is the assertion of Agobard of Lyons. The quarrels between Louis and his sons not merely destroyed the peace of the empire, which loss of peace was naturally accompanied by the spread of lawlessness and ignorance both among the clergy and laity, but gave the more powerful among them opportunities for still further lessening their dependence on

[1] In his *Ep. deploratoria de injustitiis ad Matfredum*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 104, p. 185 ff. "Quievit timor regum et legum in multis." *Cf.* a capitulary issued by the emperors Louis and Lothaire in 828. *Capit.*, n. 185, ed. Boretius, ii. p. 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

any authority, and left the Saracens and Northmen freer to extend their ravages. It was whilst Gregory IV. was Pope that Sicily was lost to the Eastern Empire and fell into the hands of the Saracens. The emperors of Constantinople were persecuting the image-worshippers and losing territory; the emperors of the West were interfering with the freedom of the Pope in his own city, and at the same time losing all authority at home.

Before Gregory died, a mortal blow had been struck at the authority of the emperor. On the field of Fontenay the domination of the Franks, through the slaughter on that terrible day of the flower of their race, had come to an end, and, by the treaty of Verdun (843), their empire had been finally broken up.

The successor of Pope Valentine was Gregory, a Roman, and the son of John. At the time of his election he was cardinal priest of the basilica[1] of St. Mark, (336–337), a church which after he became Pope he completely rebuilt (833) and adorned with mosaics, much more

The cardinal priest Gregory.

[1] "Ecclesiam b. Marci Pontificis, quam tempore sacerdotii sui regendam susceperat . . . . a fundamentis prius ejecit, et postmodum novis fabricis totam ad meliorem cultum atque decorem perduxit . . . . absidamque musivo aureis superinducto coloribus . . . . depinxit." *L. P.* Couplets placed in the tribune also recorded the work of Gregory :

"Vasta tholi firmo sistunt fundamine fulchra
Quæ Salomoniaco fulgent sub sidere ritu.
Hæc tibi proque tuo perfecit præsul honore
Gregorius Marce eximio cui nomine Quartus.
Tu quoque posce Deum vivendi tempora longa
Donet et ad cæli post funus sidera ducat."

They set forth that the vast vault on its sure foundation gleams beneath the sky, and that Gregory, the fourth to bear that honoured name, has erected it to the honour of St. Mark, who is prayed in turn to beg of God long life and then heaven for the Pope.

Duchesne (*L. P.*, ii. 84) notes that these mosaics, most barbaric in style, were the last to be executed in Rome before the renaissance of the eleventh century, and that the *cui* for *qui* is quite in keeping with the debased style of the period.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

splendid with their gold than artistic in their expression, for they were executed in the stiffest Byzantine style. Despite the renovations of Paul II. (1468), the mosaics of Gregory still show him with a model of the church in his hand on the right of Our Lord. He is being presented to Him by St. Mark, the evangelist.

According to his biographer, Gregory was at once energetic and benign, adorned with piety and learning, modest but cheerful, and powerful in discourse, one who worked for the poor but sought himself in nothing. Illustrious by his birth, he was more so by his sanctity; handsome too in figure, but more beautiful from his faith. For these virtues he was distinguished from his early years, and he was raised to the priesthood by Pope Paschal.

Election of Gregory, 827.

The papal biographer proceeds to tell us of the distress of the Romans at the loss of popes Paschal, Eugenius, and Valentine in so short a time, and of their anxiety to find one "under whose rule,"[1] he adds significantly, "the whole nobility of the senate might be able to live prosperously" (*rite*). "Enlightened by God," all the nobility (*universorum procerum corda*) turned their thoughts to Gregory; and, under their influence, all the electors, with one voice, chose the cardinal priest of St. Mark's, whom they found in the basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian. Unheeding his repeated declarations that he was unfit for so exalted an office, they carried him off in triumph to the Lateran palace, where he was declared duly elected[2] (827). From this period till his death, his biographer practically gives us no further information about him except in connection with his building operations, or with

[1] "Sub cujus imperio cuncta senatorum nobilitas rite degere potuisset." *L. P.*

[2] *Ib. Cf.* Einhard, ad an. 827.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

his countless gifts to different churches, on the ground that he could not readily sum up all that the Pope had done.

Interference of the imperial envoys.

But the Roman nobles were not destined to get their own way quite as easily as they had hoped. Though we do not know for certain either the exact day on which Gregory was elected, or that on which he was consecrated,[1] we do know[2] that he was not consecrated, till his election had been approved by the emperor Louis. It was not that the Romans sent word to him of the election of Gregory, and craved his approval of it, as they used to do under the Byzantine sovereigns. The initiative in the matter was taken by the imperial envoys, who were bent on asserting their master's authority. They appealed to the constitution of 824, and forbade the consecration of the Pope-elect until Louis had satisfied himself of the validity of the election. And there is reason to believe[3] that some six months elapsed before the arrival of the imperial assent allowed the consecration to take place.

In Einhard, whose *annals* close with the year 829, we read of embassies from Rome to Louis in both the years 828 and 829. But of their purpose nothing is known for certain, nor do we know of any other important relations between the Pope and Louis till the fatal quarrels between him and his sons had began in earnest.

The embassy of the year 829 may, however, have been in connection with a dispute between the monastery of

[1] According to some MSS. of the *Martyrology of St. Jerome* (ap. *Acta SS.*, Nov., ii. p. xxxii.) the consecration took place on March 29, 828.

[2] Einhard, *ib.* "Gregorius . . . . non prius ordinatus est, quam legatus imperatoris Romam venit, et electionem populi qualis esset examinavit." With this compare the assertion of the Astronomer: "Dilata consecratione ejus usque ad consultum Imperatoris. Quo annuente et electionem cleri et populi approbante, ordinatus est in loco prioris." *In vit. Lud.*, c. 41.

[3] See note [1] above.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Farfa and the Roman See as to their respective rights in connection with certain properties. It would appear that the decision of Pope Paschal in 823[1] had not been put into effect, or, at least, that there was a difference of opinion as to what the popes had taken and what they had not. A document preserved in the Chronicle of Farfa,[2] and dated January, the sixteenth year of the emperor Louis, the seventh Indiction, *i.e.* 829, tells us that bishop Joseph and count Leo, 'missi' of the emperor, 'for the purpose of hearing causes,' opened their court in the Lateran palace in the presence of Pope Gregory. Before them came Ingoald, abbot of the monastery of Farfa, in the duchy of Spoleto. Trusting to his charters of exemption obtained from the emperors, he asserted that popes Hadrian and Leo had by force possessed themselves of certain properties that belonged to the monastery, and that under the succeeding popes the monks had in vain tried to get justice. In support of his claims, Ingoald produced various deeds. These were allowed by the imperial 'missi,' who decided that the lands in question should be restored to the monastery. The Pope, however, refused to accept the decision. Whether he regarded this whole trial as a violation of his sovereign rights, we know not. We are in equal ignorance of the result of his carrying the matter before the emperor. But from a fact, with the issue of which we are unacquainted, it is scarcely scientific with Muratori to draw conclusions against the supreme power of the Pope in the city of Rome.

[1] *Supra*, p. 136.

[2] *R. I. S.*, II. ii. 375. *Cf.* Murat., *Annal.*, ad an. 829. "Residentibus nobis in Judicio in Palatio Lateranensi, in præsentia Domni Gregorii Papæ," etc. . . . "Sed et ipse Apostolicus dixit nostro judicio se minime credere, usque dum in præsentia D. Imperatoris simul venirent." *Cf. Il Regesto di Farfa*, ii., for the privileges of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

First quarrel between Louis and his sons.

In the history of Louis the Pious we have a striking example of the truth, that weakness, even when more or less innocent in character, is often as injurious in its effects as malicious wickedness. Louis was naturally a weak man. All he desired was to be allowed plenty of time for hunting and for the performance of exercises of piety. 'Quietissimus' is the description of him given by the anonymous monk of St. Gall. After the death of his first wife, Ermengarde (818), the weakness of his character became more apparent; and when, in 819, he was induced to marry Judith, the young, beautiful, insinuating, and fascinating daughter of the Bavarian count Welf,[1] he fell completely under her influence. This count Welf (whose name appears in Italian as Guelf) is worth a second thought, as he was the founder of the Guelf family, which was hereafter to give its name[2] to one of the great parties into which Italy was to be for so long miserably divided—the Guelfs and Ghibellins.

The new empress at once became supreme in the State,[3] and, of course, lost no time in scheming to promote the interests of the son (known in history as Charles the Bald), to whom she gave birth in the year 823. Under the influence of her winning ways the young emperor Lothaire agreed to become his half-brother's guardian, and to allow a kingdom to be carved out of his domains for him.[4] Accordingly, with the most reckless disregard of consequences, the arrangement of 817 was broken, and an imperial edict proclaimed him king of

[1] Theganus, *in vit. Lud.*, c. 26; *Astron.*, p. 949. "Hæc non est litigiosa sed suavis et blanda." Agobard, *Lib. Apol.*, n. 5.

[2] Through the last of his house, a female, who married into the Italian house of Este.

[3] *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 9. *Cf.* Ermoldus, *Carm.*, iv., last lines, with Frothard, *Epp.* 15 and 29, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v.

[4] Nith., *Hist.*, ii. 3.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Alamannia.[1] He was crowned on June 6, 829. To strengthen his hands, Louis summoned to court, Bernard, the dashing duke of Septimania (or the Spanish March), entrusted his favourite child to his care, and made him 'the second man in the empire.'[2]

His deposition.

The infatuated monarch had now done everything to ruin his empire and his home. Judith preferred the society and love of the young and brilliant duke to her duty towards her devoted husband, who was neither young nor bright. Her illicit amours seem to have been known to everybody[3] but to Louis, and justly scandalised the good, especially, of course, the clergy, the natural guardians of morality. Such as were possessed of any degree of statecraft, and these again were for the most part at this period in the ranks of the clergy, foresaw that the breaking of the constitution of 817 would prove fatal to the unity of the empire. From the Pope downwards did the clergy denounce its alteration as the cause of the troubles which came upon the empire.[4] Of the nobles some were only too ready to foment any cause of disturbance in order that they might fish for themselves in troubled waters; others were disgusted at the imperiousness of Judith, and the ambition of Bernard.[5] Lothaire was easily induced to repent of the concessions he had made. And as Louis and Pippin

[1] *Ib.* The extent of his kingdom is variously given in the different annalists: "Karolus ordinatus est dux super Alisatiam (Alsace), Alamanniam (the modern Baden and Wurtemburg), Riciam (Rhætia)." Ann. Weissemburg, 829, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. "Tradidit imp. Karolo regnum Alisacinsæ et Coriæ et partem Burgundiæ." *Ann. Xanten.*, *ib.*, ii.

[2] "Secundum a se in imperio præfecit." Nithard, *ib.*

[3] Bernardus 'thorum occupavit.' *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 7. *Cf. ib.*, 8. "De adulterio nulla *universis* remansit dubitatio." *Ib.*, c. 9. *Cf.* Agobard, *Liber. Apol.*, n. 2, and passim.

[4] See Gregory's letter to the French bishops, ap. *P. L.*, t. 104, p. 302. *Cf. Vit. Walæ*, ii. 7.

[5] *Ann. Bertinian.*, an. 844.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

had been 'indignant' at the elevation of Lothaire, they were now even more 'indignant' at the intrusion of their half-brother.[1] Under the plea of restoring the empire, Pippin of Aquitaine applied the spark to this inflammable material, and, in the spring of 830, raised the standard of rebellion. The emperor was seized, Judith was forced into a monastery, and Bernard saved his life by flight.[2] Those of the empress's relatives, of whose undue advancement the sons of Louis also complained, who were unable to escape the vigilance of their enemies, were maltreated in various ways. At a diet held with the concurrence of Lothaire, at Compiègne, the emperor Louis had to declare that it was his will that the consitution of 817 should hold good.[3] He was then himself placed by Lothaire under the surveillance of monks.

But many of the party in opposition were quite satisfied with the removal of Bernard and Judith, and with the undertaking that the arrangement of 817 should be left undisturbed. Towards Louis himself they had no ill-will; and they saw that under the weak but dictatorial Lothaire the affairs of the empire were daily going from bad to worse.[4] From personal affection also, the Germans were attached to Louis. First their own ruler Louis, king of Bavaria, known as Louis the German, and then Pippin, fell away from their eldest brother. A reaction set in. In a diet at Nimeguen (October 830), Louis found himself restored to his position by the resolution of that assembly, and to his wife by the sentence of the Pope, who of necessity decided that Judith was not bound to

[1] Theganus, c. 35.

[2] *Ib.*, c. 36; Astron., p. 959; Nithard, ii. 3.

[3] *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 10. "Imperium namque a me, ut olim ordinatum est una vobiscum . . . . ita manere decerno."

[4] Nithard., *ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

remain in the convent, as she had been forced to take the veil.[1]

Comparatively little punishment was inflicted on the rebels. Many of their leaders were, however, deprived of their property and exiled, and at a diet in the early part of the following year (February 831) Lothaire was deprived of his title of emperor. He was allowed, indeed, to retain the title of king of Italy, but was not to do anything of any importance without consulting his father.[2]

Second great rebellion of the sons of Louis, 833.

Next year there were fresh disturbances,[3] inasmuch as the younger sons did not receive for their desertion of Lothaire all they had expected. As a consequence, the emperor, in September (832), removed Pippin from his kingdom, and most unadvisedly gave it to his young favourite son Charles. It was plain that everything was to be sacrificed for Judith and her son. And it was to no purpose that Agobard, foreseeing what was coming, addressed his *Flebilis epistola* to Louis, entreating him to abide loyally by the constitution of 817.[4] Practice had now made rebellion and the flouting of imperial authority quite easy and natural. Lothaire and Louis espoused the cause of Pippin, and once again the whole empire was

[1] "Conjux venit ibi obviam ei, quam honorifice suscepit (imperator), jubente Gregorio Romano pontifice cum aliorum epp. justo judicio." Thegan., c. 37. *Cf. Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 830, and *Ann. Mettenses*, 830 (ap. *M. G. SS.*, i. 336). "Per auctoritatem apostolicam et per consensum episcoporum . . . . canonice definitum est, ut imperator suam reciperet conjugem."

[2] Nith., *Hist.*, l. i. c. 3.

[3] *Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 832. *Cf. Annal. Fuld.*, sub an., and Nithard, *l. c.*

[4] Op., ed. *P. L.*, t. 104, p. 187. How the clergy fared in many parts in consequence of these disorders may be gathered from a letter of Agobard (*c.* 823): "At nunc in quibusdam locis nullus ordo hominum . . . . de habitatione sua tam infidus est ut sacerdotes, utpote qui nullo modo securi esse possint, nec scire quot diebus ecclesiam, vel habitaculum suum eis habere sit licitum," ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 171.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

ringing with the clamour of internal strife. And, just as in the rebellion of 830, perhaps most of the really virtuous and enlightened ecclesiastics and statesmen espoused the cause of the rebellious sons. Men of energy and character were disgusted at the uxorious weakness of the emperor Louis. They attributed, not indeed without reason, all the internal troubles which were breaking up the empire to the weak folly of Louis in destroying the arrangement of the kingdoms of the empire sanctioned by Rome and by general agreement in 817. They deplored the influence of Judith over him, and the careless way in which he managed the affairs of the empire in Church as well as in State, tolerating grave abuses in both. Such we know was the eminently plausible position taken up by Agobard,[1] archbishop of Lyons, and by Wala.

Intervention of the Pope.

Towards Easter 833, the emperor drew together his forces at Worms. His sons assembled theirs at Colmar. In the camp of Lothaire was Pope Gregory IV., who was to learn by his own experience how difficult it is to mediate, in a family quarrel especially, without incurring the suspicion of both parties. That Gregory acted throughout this miserable affair with the purest motives is abundantly evident, even from the writings of the friends of the emperor Louis. He was really anxious to bring about a lasting peace. And if he was desirous of working to preserve the unity of the empire, for what nobler cause, for what interest then more vital for the safety of Europe, could he strive? For the same end were struggling the most lofty-minded statesmen in Frankland, such as the abbot Wala and archbishop Agobard. Who, moreover, had more right to interfere in behalf of the unity of the empire than Gregory, seeing that it was from the hands of

[1] *Ib.*, Ep. 16, n. 4.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a Pope that the two emperors had received their crowns, and that it was the signature of a Pope which had confirmed the deed of 817? And so we find the biographer of Wala asserting that Gregory did come to work not only for peace, but also for unity, "that the empire might be saved."[1] Gregory's motive in starting from Rome is given by the Astronomer. He was naturally, from his position, easily persuaded by Lothaire that he ought to make every effort to reconcile father and son. He was next assured[2] that he alone could bring about this most desirable result. At last, after urgent entreaties, and perhaps partly deceived,[3] he was induced to accompany Lothaire, and left Italy by the Pennine Alps.[4] He sent word[5] to Agobard that he wished fasts and prayers to be offered up that God might give success to his efforts to restore peace to the emperor's household and kingdom. And when summoning the abbot Wala to him, he sent letters[6] to that energetic partisan of the inviolability of the

[1] "Ut salvaretur imperium," ii. c. 14.

[2] "Ad id ventum est ut . . . . Gregorium papam advocarent *sub ornatu* quasi qui patri solus filios reconciliare deberet et posset." *In vit. Lud.*, c. 48.

[3] Hincmar, in a letter to Hadrian II. (Ep. 27, ap. *P. L.*, t. 126), says he went to Francia 'subreptus.'

[4] *Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 833; *vit. Walæ*, ii. cc. 14 and 17. The annalist's significant phrase is: "Lotharius de Italia, Gregorium apostolicum secum adducens." According to Nithard (i. c. 4), Gregory was only induced to go by urgent entreaties 'magnis precibus.' Hence Paschasius (*in vit. Walæ*, ii. 17) makes Lothaire say that he compelled Gregory to come: "Quem (the Pope) profecto hunc ideo laborem assumere *coegimus*, ut ipse vobis summus intercessor . . . . occurreret."

[5] "Præcipit ut jejunia faciat (Agobardus), si forte omnipotens Dominus effectum conatui suo præstare dignetur quatenus apud Ludovicum imperatorem obtineri possit ut pax . . . . domui et regno ejus restituatur." Agob., *De compar. utrius regni*, which is simply classed as a letter to Louis, April 833, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 226.

[6] *In vit. Walæ*, ii. c. 14.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

empire, on the subject of peace and the reconciliation of Louis and his sons.

The attitude of the Pope and of Lothaire.

The true partisans of unity conceived the highest hopes from the coming of the Pope, "the Prince of the Apostolic See, the light of golden Rome, the honour, teacher, and tender lover of the people."[1] But if the Pope was really in earnest in his efforts for peace, the whole conduct of Lothaire proves that he was not so. He was only working for his own ends. His first object was to gain time, which was all-important to a rebel host that had to come together from so many different quarters. A war of words was meanwhile carried on vigorously. The presence of Gregory in the camp of Lothaire not unnaturally gave the impression that he was committed to support the cause of the emperor's sons. Whereas from Lothaire's recorded action with regard to the Pope, there cannot be much doubt that he was kept in his camp by a judicious combination of persuasion, fraud, and quiet pressure.

The bishops of the emperor's party and the Pope.

The bishops of the emperor's party, when summoned to come and meet the Pope, suspicious of his impartiality, refused to obey. They even talked of excommunicating[2] him if he should have in mind to excommunicate them, language which even the Astronomer, who reports it, and

[1] Rhabanus Maurus, *M. G. PP.*, ii. 161. He continues:

"Unde opus est valde tua quod protectio fortis
Succurrat miseris, quos inimicus odit.
Eripe, sancte, piis monitis precibusque sacratis
Commissum tibimet, pastor, ab hoste gregem,
Ut tua laus maneat merces et gloria semper."

[2] "Cum vero rumor . . . . sereret de ceteris quod verum erat, de papa vero Romano, quod ideo adesset, ut tam imperatorem quam episcopos excommunicationis inretire vellet vinculis, si qui inobedientes essent suæ filiorumque imperatoris voluntati, parum quid subripuit eppis. imp. *præsumptionis audaciæ* asserentibus nullo modo se (episcopos) velle ejus voluntati succumbere. Sed si excommunicaturus adveniret, excommunicatus abiret: quum aliter se habeat antiquorum Canonum auctoritas." Astron., *in vit. Lud.*, c. 48.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

is a friend of the emperor, does not fail to stigmatise as a piece of audacious presumption quite opposed to the language of the ancient canons. But in the excited and suspicious state in which the minds of men then were, we find that the bishops, inspired, no doubt, by the daring empress,[1] went further. As Gregory's reply to them shows, they threatened to depose him. Of all this we have knowledge from a letter of the Pope which, in a more or less complete form, is cited by Agobard in his short tract on "The Comparison between Ecclesiastical and Civil Government," but which is printed separately in the collection of Agobard's letters in the *Monumenta Germaniæ*.

In the early part of this pamphlet Agobard does not fail to point out to the bishops of the emperor's party that there might be some ground for their hostility towards the Pope, if he had come in a hostile spirit; but that as he had come on an errand of peace, he must be obeyed.

Gregory's reply to the bishops of the emperor's party.

Gregory was naturally annoyed by the blind opposition which the ecclesiastics who remained faithful to the emperor had evinced towards him; and he began to think that perhaps he had better retire without making any further efforts at a reconciliation, as feeling was evidently running too high to give much room for reason. But the abbot Wala and his friend and biographer the monk Paschasius Radbert comforted the Pope by reminding him, by means of quotations from the Fathers and his predecessors which they handed him in writing, that his was the power and authority, derived from God and St. Peter, to go to all the nations to proclaim the true faith, or to make peace. "In you," they said,[2] "is all the authority

[1] *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 16.

[2] *In vit. Walæ*, ii. c. 16. "In eo (Gregorio) esset omnis auctoritas B. Petri, excellens et potestas viva, a quo oporteret universos judicari, ita ut ipse a nemine judicandus esset." Well then does the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of Blessed Peter, that great and living power, by which all must be judged, while you yourself cannot be judged by anyone."

Encouraged by this reminder of the charge that had been laid upon him, Gregory proceeded to address a sharp rejoinder to the letter he had received from the bishops of Louis. To cite the excellent summary of Jaffé[1]: "He chastised their insolence, repelled their charges, and derided their threats." You professed, urged the Pope, to have felt delighted when you heard of my arrival, thinking that it would have been of great advantage for the emperor and the people; you added that you would have obeyed my summons had not a previous intimation of the emperor prevented you. But, continued Gregory, you ought to have regarded an order from the Apostolic See as not less weighty than one from the emperor. Besides, it is false that the emperor's prohibition preceded your receiving mine. He then lays down the principle which every God-fearing man must regard as fundamental: "The government[2] of souls, which belongs to bishops, is more important than the imperial, which is only concerned with the temporal." Gregory brands as shameless their assertion that he has only come blindly to excommunicate, and naturally holds up to contempt their offer to give him an honourable reception if he should come exactly in the way the emperor wants him. Their appeal to the oath of fidelity which he has taken to the emperor, Gregory twice distinctly declines to admit. He, however, allows it to

biographer of Wala go on to ask what sort of bishops those were who "insurgebant contra caput totius Christi ecclesiæ, ne pacem ferret inter patrem et filios."

[1] *Reg.*, 2578 (1957). The letter is given at length in *M. G. Epp.*, v. 228.

[2] "Majus esse regimen animarum, quod est pontificale, quam imperiale, quod est temporale." Ep. Greg., ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 228.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

pass, and says he will avoid perjury by pointing out to the emperor what he has done against the unity and peace of the Church and his kingdom. As the cause of all the subsequent troubles, the alteration of the partition of 817 is strongly denounced by the Pope. He upbraids[1] the bishops for opposing his efforts in behalf of peace. "What they threaten has not been done from the beginning of the Church."

If only Louis had acted vigorously, he would certainly have crushed his enemies; but, even when he began to move his forces forward, he continued to negotiate. Messengers were sent on the one hand to ask the Pope why he so long delayed[2] to come to him, and on the other to remind[3] his sons of their duty, and to ask them why they prevented the Pope from visiting him.

Gregory meets Louis.

By the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24, 833), the two armies stood facing each other at a place called Rothfield (Red field), afterwards, from the treachery manifested thereon, known as the Field of Lies, and thought to be what is now called Rothleucht (Red light), near Colmar. Then, at length, to gain time for his schemes, Lothaire allowed the Pope to go to the emperor. But Louis, despite the previous exhortation given him by Agobard,[4] did not receive Gregory "with becoming honour,"[5] to quote the expression of the Astronomer. However, it did not take the Pope long before he convinced the emperor of his

[1] "Vos conamini obsistere perversitatibus vestris nobis, qui legatione pacis fungimur." *Ib.*

[2] *Astron.*, c. 48. [3] *In vit. Walæ*, ii. c. 17.

[4] Ep., ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. 226. While writing to remind the emperor, "cujus reverentiæ debitores estis ad vestrum cotidianum profectum erga sedem apostolicam," he did not hesitate to say that if the Pope came to fight he should be repelled by force. But, he added, if he comes for peace sake, he must not be resisted but obeyed.

[5] "Imperator in ipsa acie consistens suscepit, licet indecentius quam debuit." Astron., *l. c.* *Cf. vit. Walæ*, *l. c.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

good faith, and of his impartiality. He assured Louis that it was only to make peace that he had undertaken so long a journey.[1] The Pope remained some days with the emperor arranging matters, and giving and receiving presents. At length he was sent back to Lothaire "to arrange a mutual peace."[2]

Louis is betrayed.

But 'the few days' had been adroitly spent by the crafty Lothaire in buying the fidelity of the emperor's troops. They deserted him in crowds, till he was left practically helpless, and the scheming Lothaire took heed that he had not even the moral support of the Pope's presence. For he refused to allow Gregory to return to the emperor,[3] in accordance with the latter's wishes. Clearly, in all this unfortunate affair, Gregory had very little of his own way.

Abandoned by his followers, Louis once again fell into the hands of his sons. The empress Judith was sent off into exile to Fortona (the ancient Dertona), one of the oldest cities of the North of Italy; Louis was shut up in the monastery of St. Medard at Soissons; and, to his intense grief, his young son Charles was taken from him and imprisoned in the monastery of Prum. Lothaire "seized[4] the imperial power and allowed the Pope to return to Rome (July 833), Pippin to Aquitaine, and Louis to Bavaria."

[1] *Ib.* [2] *Ib.* *Cf.* Thegan., c. 42.

[3] *Astron.*, c. 48. According to Wala's biographer, the followers of Louis deserted him of their own accord. "Sine ullius, quantum rescire potui, persuasione aut exhortatione." But it must be borne in mind that Radbert was anxious to make things look as well as they could for his superior's party.

[4] *Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 833. "Lotharius, arrepta potestate regia, apostolicum Romam, Pippinum in Aquitaniam, et Ludoicum in Baivariam redire *permisit*." *Cf.* Nithard, *Hist.*, i. c. 3. Gregory returns "itineris pœnitudine correptus." The Astronomer (c. 48) says that "seeing such things, he returned to Rome with the greatest grief."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

If Lothaire thus arrogated the supreme power to himself alone, it was because he was emboldened so to do by the action of the Pope and his own party in previously deciding that the empire had fallen from the hands of Louis, and should be taken by Lothaire.[1] As for the Pope, he returned to Rome in the most profound discouragement.[2]

Louis is degraded at Compiègne, 833.

Knowing that the aged emperor would be more affected by the condemnation of the Church than by that of the State, Lothaire caused a diet to be held (October 833) at Compiègne. Through the agency of the bishops of his party, *i.e.* of those interested in the cause of the unity of the empire, under the presidency of Ebbo of Rheims, the unhappy Louis again[3] declared himself ready to submit to public penance. The condemnation passed upon him by the synod was based mainly on his breaking the *ordinatio imperii* of 817.[4] A little later he laid aside the insignia of his office, and put on the garb of a penitent.

[1] "Tunc ab eodem sancto viro et ab omnibus qui convenerant, adjudicatum est, quia imperium . . . . de manu patris ceciderat, ut Augustus Honorius (Lothaire) . . . . eum relevaret." Paschasius then goes on to say, "Suscepit, nescio quo judicio . . . . totius monarchiam Imperii." *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 18.

[2] After the above exposition (almost in the words of contemporary authorities) of the conduct of the Pope throughout this affair, the reader will be able to form his own opinion of the correctness of these reflections of Gregorovius (*Rome*, iii. 70). Gregory "had only sought to effect an equivocal mediation, the result of which had diminished his authority. Called to the highest mission of the priesthood—to soothe irritated humanity by love, and to establish peace between princes and peoples—he had shown himself intent solely on his own advantage." Himly permits himself similar aspersions on the conduct of the Pope. Resting on nothing but their authors' conceptions, they can be neglected. They are not supported by a shred of evidence, even from the writings of the supporters of Louis.

[3] He had already submitted to it once at Attigny (822) for the death of Bernard.

[4] Labbe, *Conc.*, vii. 1689, c. 2 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

But the millennium had not yet come for the empire of the Franks. On the contrary, there rather came a time when it might almost be said that all were for a party and none were for the State. Lothaire's chief supporters quarrelled among themselves as to who was to be the second in the empire,[1] and the empress Judith went on steadily plotting to increase the portion to be held by her son. The real imperialists were disgusted, and it was the thought of many that Lothaire had gone too far in his humiliation and ill-treatment of his father. His brothers took up arms against him, and he had to fly hastily towards Italy (834) to avoid falling into their hands. In the Church of St. Denis, at Paris, Louis was reinvested by the bishops with the symbols of empire (March). Too fortunate in having such a father, the base Lothaire once more received pardon, and was allowed to keep the kingdom of Italy.

Is restored to empire, 834.

But he had the soul of a tyrant, and when he found himself unable to oppress his tender-hearted father, he turned his attention to harassing the possessions of the Roman Church (836). When word of this was brought to Louis he was very much annoyed, and sent (836) envoys to Lothaire to remind him that, when he gave him the kingdom of Italy, he had recommended him to have a care of the Holy Roman Church, to be its defender and not its despoiler. Lothaire was also ordered to have everything ready for his father, who intimated his intention of going to Rome as well to protect[2] the Roman Church as for prayer. One, however, of the numerous irruptions of the Northmen, which occurred about this time, prevented the

Lothaire harries the states of the Church.

[1] Nithard, i. 4. As Paschasius puts it, no measures were taken "quomodo deinceps unitum et inconcussum (imperium) maneret." *Vit. Walæ*, ii. 19.

[2] *Astron.*, c. 55, and *Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 837. "Iter suum Romam defensionis s. Rom. ecclesiæ atque orationis gratia indixit (Ludovicus)."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

emperor himself from going to Rome, but in his stead, as the Astronomer informs us, he sent Adrebald, abbot of Flaix.[1]

Embassy of Louis to the Pope, 836.

The imperial envoy found the Pope very ill, suffering from a continual bleeding at the nose. But, as Gregory himself said, the consolation he received from the emperor's kindly words made him almost forget his illness. After bestowing all manner of favours on the abbot, the Pope sent along with him, on his return, two bishops, Peter of Centumcellæ (Civita Vecchia) and George, who was also 'regionary of the city of Rome.' When they reached Bologna the party found that they were not to be allowed to proceed further. Lothaire evidently did not wish his conduct to be too well known by the emperor. However, the letter which they were bearing from Gregory to Louis, Adrebald managed to smuggle to its destination. One of his followers, under the disguise of a beggar, contrived to evade the vigilance of Lothaire's soldiers, and conveyed the document in safety to Louis across the Alps.[2] Although our knowledge of this affair terminates here, the incident is noteworthy. It shows the cordial feeling of Louis for the Pope—a feeling he could not have entertained had he not been convinced that Gregory had not been unfriendly towards him—and the despotic, because weak, character of Lothaire.

Further rebellions, and death of Louis, 840.

Whilst the Northmen and Saracens were making fierce descents upon the empire (the Saracens plundered Marseilles in 838), the endless succession of ungrateful rebellions on the one hand and weak acts of folly and forgiveness on the other went on. Pippin of Aquitaine died in December 838.

[1] "Gregorium P. de necessariis consulturus, et voluntatem imperatoris, cæteraque sibi injuncta perlaturus." Ap. *P. L.*, p. 970.

[2] Direct from the Astronomer, *l. c.* "Sed tanto gaudio ad verba Imperatoris et compassiones ejus recreatus est, ut profiteretur se pene incommoditatis propriæ oblitum."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A fresh division of his empire by Louis to the benefit of Charles and Lothaire drove Louis the German to arms. Subdued and pardoned one year (839), he again appealed to force the next. Marching to subdue him, the unhappy father died (June 20, 840), at the age of sixty-four.

War between Lothaire and his brothers.

On his deathbed Louis had ordered the imperial regalia to be sent to Lothaire, who resolved to be emperor in fact as well as in name. He thought to crush Charles and Louis the German, separately. Again the whole empire was seething inwardly with the violent passions of war which were consuming its vital force, as fatally as, when unbridled, corresponding ones destroy the human frame.

The Pope attempts to bring about peace.

Undeterred by previous failure, Gregory made an effort to bring about peace between the brothers, as we learn from Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, who wrote the fourth part of the annals that go by the name of St. Bertin, and was an eye-witness of many of the events about which he treated. This time the Pope did not go himself to the scene of action, but sent George, archbishop of Ravenna. But, as on a previous occasion, Lothaire had detained the Pope himself when on a similar errand of mercy, so now he would not suffer George to go and visit the kings, his brothers.[1] Prudentius goes on to inform us that in the battle of Fontenay, of which we shall have to speak presently, George fell into the hands of the forces of Louis the German and Charles, but was sent back with honour to his own country. Such is the account, probably the correct one, of Prudentius in connection with the mission of George. The historian's episcopal city of Troyes was not far from the field of Fontenay.

[1] *Annal. Bert.*, ad an. 841. "Georgius, Ravennatis episcopus, a Gregorio Romano pontifice ad Lotharium fratresque ejus pacis gratia directus, sed a Lothario detentus, neque ad fratres venire permissus."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

He was, in the strictest sense, a contemporary (as he was already a bishop in 847) and a man of known uprightness of character. There is, however, an account of this embassy of George which is quite different to the one already given. It is furnished us, in his *life* of Archbishop George, by Agnellus of Ravenna, a writer of this same century, and acknowledged[1] to be hostile to the popes. The following is the substance of Agnellus's story. After his consecration at Rome by Gregory, and after he had taken the usual oath of obedience to him, George at once became his opponent.[2] Hearing that Gregory was sending envoys to try to bring about peace between Lothaire and his brothers, he asked Lothaire to obtain the Pope's permission that he himself might be attached to the embassy. Leave was granted, and he went with the apostolic curse (*sic*). He took with him all the money and plate that belonged to his Church, and "all the privileges which Maurus and all the other bishops of Ravenna had obtained from the emperors" (Greek). With the money,[3] he hoped to induce Lothaire to make him independent of the Roman Pontiff. After the overthrow of Lothaire's army at Fontenay, George fell into the hands of the enemies' troops. His treasure was plundered, his precious documents tossed into the mud and pierced through and through with the soldiers' lances, and

[1] By Muratori (*Annal.*, vii. 48) and Gregorovius (ii. 333 n.). Andrew, a man of noble birth, who was abbot of S. Maria 'ad Blachernæ,' at Ravenna, and is generally called by the name of Agnellus, wrote his lives of the archbishops of Ravenna about the year 842, confessedly relying to some extent on his imagination. *Cf.* the introduction to his *Liber Pontif.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 106, and Hodgkin, *Italy, etc.*, i. 473.

[2] "Statim contrarius ordinatori suo exstitit." *In vit.*, c. 1.

[3] "Cogitans quod per eam (*pecuniam*) posset subvertere imperatoris corda ut exiret de sub potestate Romani pontificis." *Ib.*, c. 2. This 'independence' of the authority of the Pope is quite a craze with Agnellus. (*Cf.* vol. i., pt. ii., p. 11 ff. of this work.)

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

he himself ill-treated. Brought before Charles and Louis, he would have been sent into perpetual exile, "as they had heard[1] of his malignity," had it not been for the compassionate intercession of the empress-mother Judith. At her request he was allowed to return to Ravenna, which he did, probably a sadder and wiser, certainly a poorer, man. As is very often the case with the narratives of Agnellus, much of the above has no better foundation than that worthy's imagination.

The battle of Fontenay, 841.

Lothaire, who had, it would seem, lost more than one opportunity of crushing his brothers singly, at length made up his mind to fight them when their forces were combined. The hostile armies, made up of troops from every part of the empire, met at Fontenay (now Fontenoy-en-Puisaye), near Auxerre, on Saturday, June 25, 841. The battle ended in the defeat of Lothaire, though both the great armies were almost cut to pieces. In verses[2] of no little feeling has the terrible slaughter of Fontenay been described by one Angilbert, "the sole survivor of those who fought in the front rank." Never, he says, were more killed on one field of battle. Cursed be the day that saw it. May it be blotted out from memory, and may the light of the sun never fall upon it!

This engagement is generally regarded as of the first importance in the history of the modern kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy. Their existence as separate

[1] *Ib.* "Audientes de malignitate Georgii, eo quod sævus et pessimus esset."

[2] Printed at the end of the *Historiæ* of Nithard, in the ed. "in usum scholarum."

Maledicta dies illa,
  Nec in anni circuli (*sic*)
Numeretur, sed radatur
  Ab omni memoria;
Jubar solis illi desit
  Auroræ, crepusculo.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and distinct realms is traced to the field of Fontenay. All hope of these countries being welded into one empire was destroyed by the defeat of Lothaire. For some half century longer the line of the Carolingian emperors will continue to exist. But they will be emperors more in name than in fact. The growth of the German, French, and Italian languages, seen in embryo in the texts which have come down to us of the oaths taken at the treaty of Verdun, will render permanent the division begun in June 841. Unfortunately, at the time, the subdivision of the empire into three great parts did not end the breach. Following out the thought of an author (Florus) of this very year (841), we may write: "for an emperor, there were kings; for kings, kinglets. And for kingdoms there were soon to be but mere fragments of kingdoms." Even Agnellus of Ravenna, a writer by no means gifted with any extraordinary intelligence, had the wit to write, in a prophecy which—to fill up his *life* of Gratiosus—he puts[1] into the mouth of that prelate: "What is now the Roman empire shall be desolated, and kings shall sit on the emperor's throne. . . . And to the sea coasts shall come unknown nations, who will plunder those regions and render tributary those of the Christians they do not slay. . . . And Christian shall rise up against Christian. . . . And from the East shall rise up the race of Agar (the Saracens), who shall plunder the cities by the sea; and no man shall escape them. For in every part there shall be but powerless kings, who will oppress their subjects. All things shall grow smaller. Servants will be above their masters, and every man shall trust in his own sword. And over the

[1] *In vit. Gratiosi*, c. 2. Gratiosus was archbishop of Ravenna when it was visited by Charlemagne. Agobard, in his *Apology* for the sons of Louis, also declared that, unless God were to prevent it, the result of the civil wars would be: "Aut exteris dabitur regnum, aut in multos tyrannos dispertietur"; n. 4.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

new generations there shall arise judges and dukes, who will overturn the earth." This semi-scriptural language very aptly expresses the break up of the Carolingian empire into kingdoms; and of the kingdoms themselves into more or less independent dukedoms, countships, and the like, when fathers went on subdividing their kingdoms between their sons; and when, in the course of the intestine wars that arose in consequence of these partitions, the kings had to give such privileges and grants of land and money to procure help from their nobles as to make them practically small sovereigns. In this descending subdivision we have the groundwork of feudalism.

The treaty of Verdun, 843.

After the decisive battle of Fontenay, some time elapsed before a *modus vivendi* could be agreed upon between the three brothers. At length, after more fighting and much negotiation, the famous treaty of Verdun was agreed to (August 843). With the imperial title Lothaire was to have Italy, and, roughly speaking, the belt of land stretching therefrom to the North Sea, that lay between the Rhine on the east, and the Rhone, Saone, and the Meuse on the west; Charles, the Bald, was to have France, and Louis, the German, the country between the Rhine and the Oder, and all the territory drained by the Danube, the Drave, and the Save to the point where the two latter rivers merge into the Danube. After this division there was for a short while the semblance of peace in what once had been the empire of the Franks.

But their imperial power had passed away for ever. "Woe to the race of the Franks!" cries out Florus the deacon, the head of Agobard's school of Lyons, and the heir of his elevated political views. "Once there was one empire and one people. But now this great power is trampled under foot, like a garland of lovely flowers cast from the brow it adorned. This empire, lately one, is now

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

divided into three; and no one can be looked up to as its emperor."[1]

The end of iconoclasm, 842.

About the time that in the West this temporary lull in the quarrels between Louis's sons occurred, the close of the iconoclastic heresy was celebrated in the East. As Gregory had no particular share, as far as we know, in bringing about this most joyful and important event, it will here be merely touched upon. Michael II. (the Stammerer) had shown himself a persecuting foe of the image-worshippers. His son Theophilus (829–January 20, 842) proved himself even a more cruel enemy[2] of holy images. He even went to the length of branding two brothers on the forehead with some offensive verses of his own composing. Methodius, who was afterwards patriarch, was kept in prison for seven years. But the efforts of one emperor after another for one hundred and twenty years could not prevail against truth. Theophilus had not been dead a month when iconoclasm in the East was also dead. His wife Theodora was an image-worshipper. As his son Michael III. (the Drunkard) was only three years old at the time of his father's death, Theodora was named regent. With the advice of her councillors, the iconoclastic patriarch John was deposed, Methodius appointed in his stead, and a synod[3] summoned which decreed the restoration of the images and the celebration of a 'feast of orthodoxy' in commemoration of that event.

[1] *Querela de divis. imp.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 249 ff.

"At tunc tantus apex tanto de culmine lapsus
Florea ceu quondam capiti dejecta corona,
Quam varius text t redolenti gramine fulgor
Cunctorum teritur pedibus."

[2] "Cette fois, aucun ménagement ne fut gardé, ... la persécution fut violente," is the language of the non-Catholic writers, Lavisse et Rambaud, *Les Origines*, p. 637.

[3] *Cf. Libellus synod.*, ap. Labbe, vii. 1784, or Mansi, xiv. 787. The eighth General Council (869) also condemned the iconoclasts.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The first feast was kept immediately after the holding of the synod, viz., on the first Sunday of Lent, which that year (842) fell on February 19. Nowadays, both in the Greek and Russian Church, this feast (still kept on the first Sunday of Lent) has a wider signification, for on it is now celebrated the victory over all heresies which are then anathematised. Iconoclasm was dead, but its effects, in the direction of separating the East from the West in the domain both of politics and religion, remained.

Modern Greek iconoclasm.

To say 'iconoclasm was dead' in the East is perhaps to make too strong an assertion. For with curious inconsistency it would seem that the so-called *orthodox* Greeks are to-day both image-breakers and image-worshippers. The writer of these pages will never forget his astonishment when, in speaking to a well-informed Russian on the possibility of union between the Greek churches and the See of Rome, he interjected: "But there is the question of the icons!" It appears that the *orthodox* Greeks are not only passionately attached to their venerable icons, made in the same form now for many centuries, but regard the Latin Church as idolatrous. Those who *worship* icons of two dimensions are *orthodox*, but those who *worship* statues of three dimensions are heterodox, are idolaters.

Ignoring, then, both the principles laid down by the second council of Nicæa and by that of 842, and their previous practice, the use of statues (even of the crucifix, if with a solid and not merely a painted figure on it) apparently gradually died out among the *disunited* Greeks. And insensibly there came into vogue with them that traditional style in sacred art, anything but beautiful and artistic, with which all are so familiar in the Greek or Russian *icon*. "This," writes[1] the Rev. H. F. Tozer,

[1] *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, p. 125. *Cf.* Brehier, *La querelle des Images*, p. 54 ff., and Bayet, *L'art Byzantin*, p. 184 f. and p. 255 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

"was stereotyped by a remarkable book, which was compiled at an unknown but early period—the 'Guide to Painting' of Dionysius of Agrapha, which contains rules, very often of a minute description, for the treatment of (sacred) subjects. . . . This manual is in use at the present day, and explains the singular uniformity of design in the paintings, both ancient and modern, of the Greek Church."

The Saracens in Sicily and Italy.

Whilst the Christians of the empire were slaughtering one another, the Pagan Northmen and the Mohammedan Saracens were taking possession of various parts of their country. In 827, brought in by a traitor, the Saracens of Africa, the subjects of the Aglabite dynasty of Kairouan, effected a landing in Sicily. Messina and Palermo were captured in the course of a few years. They had indeed made inroads into the island during the two preceding centuries, but this time they came to stay. They soon got possession of a large portion of the island, and in little more than a century the Greeks were completely driven[1] out of it. The Greek officials, in withdrawing to the mainland, that is, to the cities of Southern Italy which still acknowledged the suzerainty of the Greeks, carried with them the name of Sicily. Hence the origin of the name the 'Two Sicilies.' Even before

[1] *Cf. Storia degli Italiani*, by Cantu, v. c. 71; Muratori, ad an. 828; *Europe*, 476–918, by C. Oman, c. 26. In his preface the last-named author writes: "I am not acquainted with any modern English book where the enquirer can find an account of the Mohammedan invasions of Italy and Sicily in the ninth century." In the chapter cited, Mr. Oman gives much valuable information to supply the deficiency. According to him, the Byzantine defence broke down by the loss of Messina (842) and Enna, the strongest post in the centre of the island (859). In 878 fell Syracuse. The remaining few strongholds fell in the beginning of the tenth century. But according to an Arab Chronicle (*Chron. Sic.*, ap. *R. I. S.*, I. ii. p. 245), Messina fell in 831. Oman's other dates are confirmed by the Chronicle.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

they had established themselves in Sicily, the Moslems of Africa had made descents upon Italy. Despite the exertions we have seen made by Leo III. to put his coast in a good state of defence, Centumcellæ[1] (Civita Vecchia) was sacked by the Moors in 813, even during the lifetime of Charlemagne. The ravaging of the west coast of Italy naturally increased after the Moors obtained a firm foothold in Sicily; and of course their devastations spread further after they had been basely called in as allies (840) both by Radelchis and by Siconulf, who were fighting for the dukedom of Beneventum. But the infidels simply turned to their own advantage the furious civil dissensions which they found raging in Beneventum. They seized Bari by treachery,[2] and kept it. Up to the year 851 they ravaged Southern Italy with more or less impunity. In danger such as this, well might the popes bestir themselves.

Gregoriopolis.

While the different sovereigns of the Franks and the princes of Southern Italy, utterly careless of everything except their own personal gains, were calling to their aid the foes not merely of civilisation but of Christianity, the pagan Northmen and the Mahomedan Saracens, Gregory was doing what lay in his power to protect that part of Christendom over which he held sway. That he was equally solicitous for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his people is the verdict of his biographer, when about to speak of his defensive works. The *Book of the Popes* goes on to explain how the depradations of the "wicked race of the Agareni (Saracens), which are still going on," caused Gregory to reflect seriously as to the most efficacious measures to be taken to secure the safety of his people.

[1] "Centumcellas Tusciæ civitatem et Niceam provinciæ Narbonensis (Mauri) vastaverunt." Einhard, ad an. 813.

[2] *Cf.* Erchempert, († after 910) *Hist. Lang.*, cc. 16, 17.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

He concluded that the best thing to be done was to guard the Tiber by rebuilding the city of Ostia which was then in ruins. Gregory accordingly betook himself to the spot (probably after 841) with a number of Romans, and built himself a villa hard by. By dint of great exertions a new city, or, perhaps, rather a new citadel or fortress, designed by the Pope to be known as Gregoriopolis, arose, as it would appear, close to the ancient Ostia. The new city was made 'very strong,' and its high walls were further defended by a deep moat, crossed by drawbridges, and by a supply of military engines (called 'petrariæ') for casting huge stones. Nowadays, however, Gregoriopolis is supposed by some to have been within the circuit of the walls of the ancient Ostia "towards the Porta Romana, instead of occupying the site of medieval Ostia, which still remains."[1] According to Lanciani,[2] the account in the *Liber Pontificalis* "is greatly exaggerated, to judge from the remains of Gregoriopolis which the late C. L. Visconti and I laid bare in the winter of 1867–8. . . . He simply selected two or three blocks of old houses on the left side of the main street, and filled up the doors, windows, and shop fronts with mud walls. He also barricaded the openings of the streets, which ran between the blocks. It is possible, though we found no evidence, that the houses surrounding this rudimentary fort on the opposite sides of the boundary streets were levelled to the ground." However, as it does not appear that the Pope's biographer was writing a romance, it would seem more rational, pending further excavations, to accept his statements more literally. It is far more likely that the discoveries of Lanciani relate to the hasty work accomplished by the people of Ostia themselves when, in the following pontifi-

[1] Murray's *Hand-book for Rome*, p. 443.
[2] *The Destruction of Ancient Rome*, pp. 126–7.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cate, the Saracens made their famous raid up the Tiber in 846. For we are expressly told, in the Farnesian addition to the *Liber Pontificalis*,[1] that the inhabitants had made an attempt to block up the city before they abandoned it.

The Aqua Trajana.

This, whether or not the most important, was by no means the only restoration effected by Gregory. In addition to the various churches which in different parts of the city he restored, or rebuilt, Gregory also once more put into working order the great Aqua Trajana or Sabbatine aqueduct,[2] which had been damaged, very likely in the commotions during the reign of Leo III. "Reflecting," says his biographer, "on the privations of the Romans, inasmuch as they had no means of grinding their corn, Gregory set to work and repaired the Sabbatine aqueduct which, for many years, had remained broken." The baths and fountains belonging to the basilica of St. Peter and the corn-mills on the Janiculum were once again filled with refreshing and copious streams of water. To this day it supplies the fountains in front of St. Peter's and a large area of the Trastevere.

A papal villa.

Other damage certainly done in Leo III.'s reign was also repaired by this, his successor. The *domusculta* or farm colony of Galeria which Hadrian had founded on the Via Portuensis by Ponte di Galera, was restored by Gregory, who himself founded a new colony of 'Draco,'[3] on the left bank of the Tiber, some eleven miles from

[1] *L. P.*, ii. p. 99. "Venerunt (Sarraceni) ad urbem, quam illi habitatores *obstruserunt* et effugerant."

[2] It derived its waters from springs near the Lacus Sabbatinus (now Lago di Bracciano). In 1830 an inscription was found recording its erection by Trajan, and his purchase of the usual strip of land (30 feet) on which no planting was allowed. "Aquam Trajanam pecunia sua in urbem perduxit, emptis locis per latitud. P(edes) XXX." *Ancient Rome*, Middleton, p. 474. *Cf. L. P.*, n. xix.

[3] *Cf.* the *fundus Draconis* of a bull of Gregory VII.; *L. P.*, n. xlii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Rome on the Via Ostiensis, and hence not far from his new city. The 'tenuta di dragoncello' still preserves the memory of Gregory's colony. In connection with this colony he also built what is supposed to have been the first papal villa. This would have doubtless been built by the Pope for himself and his court whilst he was superintending the building of Gregoriopolis.

St. Peter's, etc.

According to his biographer,[1] it was immediately after his consecration that Gregory "began to entertain a very great zeal for the saints and their churches." St. Peter's, of course, profited by the Pope's zeal. Not only did he present it with elaborately worked hangings on which were represented "the passion of SS. Peter and Paul," but he largely rebuilt and redecorated its atrium. To a newly decorated chapel within the basilica itself, he transferred the body of St. Gregory, "through whom the Holy Ghost had enlightened the world," and then, from the catacombs, the bodies of SS. Sebastian, Tiburtius, and Gorgonius.[2] "With a pure heart" he both offered splendid gifts to the Church of S. Maria Trastevere,[3] and made considerable changes therein, by raising the altar and putting a *presbyterium* or chancel in front of it, in order to prevent the clergy from being mixed with the laity during divine service. And that the worship of God might be carried on in this famous basilica with greater regularity and devotion, he founded a monastery close to it, and placed therein—to serve it—'canonical monks' (*monachos canonicos*) or canons, probably of the order instituted in the preceding century by St. Chrodegang of Metz.[4]

In order that at least after prayers or Mass he might have

[1] *L. P.*, n. v. [2] *Ib.*, nn. vi., vii., xiii., xxxiv., xli.

[3] *Ib.*, nn. xxvi., xxxii., and note 11 p. 84. The church was then called both after Our Lady and after SS. Calistus and Cornelius.

[4] *Ib.*, nn. xxiii. and xxiv., and p. 84.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a little rest and quiet,[1] he erected, by St. Peter's, a small but suitable chamber adorned with frescos, and in the Lateran palace "where there was the greatest amount of quiet" a hall wherein, surrounded by his clergy, he could offer up his prayers of thanksgiving to God.

St. Ansgar and Sweden.

Whilst the continent of Europe was, for the most part, settling down into anarchy, owing to the ravages of Northman, Slav, and Saracen, but still more owing to the intestine strife of selfish monarchs, the self-denial of one man was taking into the far North, the peace and order which Christianity proclaims, and which are the first fruits of its proper cultivation. We have already seen how the work of Ansgar among the Danes was interrupted in 828. But, in 829, word was brought to Louis that there was a suitable opening for some fervent missionaries in Sweden. With many valuable presents for the Swedish king, Bern, or Biorn, 'of the Hill,' who, even when a heathen, used to say, "he would never lean more to treachery than to good faith,"[2] Ansgar set out for Sweden. Success attended his efforts. On his return (831) to report to Louis the state in which the Church in Sweden then was, the emperor, to carry out Charlemagne's ideas, founded the archbishopric of Hamburg, and caused Ansgar to be consecrated its first incumbent (832). This he did by the authority of Pope Gregory IV., and with the object of making that city the centre for the missions of the North. Ansgar was then sent to Rome. Gregory not only gave our saint the pallium, and, "before the body and confession of Blessed Peter, full authority to preach the Gospel," but named him apostolic legate "among the nations of the Swedes, Danes,

[1] "Pro quietem (*sic*) pontificis . . . . ubi ejus valeant membra soporari, ... ubi et quies est optima," etc. *Ib.*, n. xxxv. At Castel S. Elia, near Nepi, there is a pulpit of Gregory IV. reconstructed from fragments. *Cf.* Mazzanti, *Pulpito di G. IV.*, Roma, 1895.

[2] *Saxo Gram.*, l. ix.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Slavs, and other northern peoples,"[1] in conjunction with Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who had held that office before (*c.* 834). Although the city of Hamburg was burnt by the Normans in 845, and its See had to be joined (847) to that of Bremen, still the work of Ansgar went steadily on. He did not, indeed, though he longed for it no less ardently than St. Boniface had done, receive, like the apostle of Germany, the crown of martyrdom. But by the time he ceased from this mortal conflict (February 3, 865), God had begun, through the labours of this His servant, to listen to the sad cry for help against the Northmen which was ascending to Him all over the empire. "A furore Normannorum libera nos Domine." It was not, however, till the very close of the following century that Christianity took anything like a firm hold of the Northmen. Still the good seed had been sown by Ansgar[2]; and no doubt even

[1] On this paragraph *cf.* the life of Ansgar by his disciple Rimbert, and the official documents of Gregory IV., etc., all ap. *P. L.*, t. 118: "Ante corpus et confessionem S. Petri ap. publicam evangelizandi tribuit auctoritatem," *in vit. Ansgar*, c. 13.

The text of the bull of Gregory, as we now have it, confirming the erection of the See of Hamburg and naming Ansgar his legate, though admitted to be genuine in outline, is to some extent interpolated in its text, as such places as Iceland and Greenland are therein mentioned, places, the existence of which, at least under those names, was certainly then wholly unknown. It should be compared with that of Nicholas I. (May 31, 864), which confirms it and approves the erection of the archbishopric of Bremen, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119. *Cf.* Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg Epp.*, ii. 18, where we are told that in his time charters of both the Pope and emperor in favour of Ansgar were still preserved in the Church of Bremen. In Alzog, *Universal Ch. Hist.*, ii. 164 ff., there are many mistakes in the account of S. Ansgar. He confuses the saint's two journeys to Sweden, and makes Nicholas I. act in 849!

[2] On Ansgar, *cf.* with Fleury, L. 47–49, Hergenroether, iii. 494 ff.; Hefele, *Conc.*, v. 330, 407; and the aforesaid bull of Nicholas. That this bull was issued in 864 is clear from its chronological data. "Indict. XII., imperante Ludovico (II.) imperatore anno suo decimo quinto," ap. *P. L.*, *ib.*, p. 879 and n. a. As Louis was associated in the empire with his father Lothaire in 849, his fifteenth year was 864. The first Christian

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

during its gradual propagation must have exercised at least some mitigating influence on the 'fury of the Northmen.'

Gregory and other bishops. i. Maxentius of Aquileia.

The records of history enable us to consider Gregory, not only founding new metropolitan Sees, but having various relations with existing metropolitans and their suffragans. He sends[1] the pallium to the archbishop of Salzburg (May 31, 837), and to Venerius,[2] the patriarch of Grado (*c.* 828), to show his sympathy for that See in its struggle for its rights. In June 827 a synod[3] assembled at Mantua, at which had assisted representatives of the Pope (Eugenius II.) and the emperors (Louis and Lothaire), had allowed itself to be imposed upon by an erroneous narrative of the history of the Sees of Aquileia and Grado, presented to it by Maxentius, the patriarch of the former See, and had decided against Venerius that Maxentius and his successors were to have control over the bishops of Istria.

Against the Mantuan decision Venerius had appealed to Rome—his last hope of obtaining justice, as it has been for many other injured men and women both before and since the days of Gregory IV. Like a child, wrote the patriarch (838), who hopes all things from its parents, he turned to the Pope against the ceaseless attacks of his rival, because, "after God, our insignificance has no refuge except in the majesty of the dignity of the Apostle, whose place, by the authority of God, you hold."[4]

By the emperor's orders, continued Venerius, I ought

king of Sweden was Olof Skötkonung (†1042); *cf. Hist. de Suède* (i. p. 102) by Geyer, Bruxelles, 1845.

[1] Jaffé, *Regest.*, 2580 (1961).

[2] Dandolo, in *Chron.*, l. 8 c. 2. "Gradensem sedem approbando, Venerio Pat. pallium concessit." He is called the 'restorer of churches.' *Chron. de Pat. Grad.*, p. 15.

[3] Mansi, *Conc.*, xiv.; Hefele, v. 246.

[4] "Post Dominum nullum habet parvitas nostra confugium, nisi ad majestatem apostolici culminis, cujus Deo auctore vicem geritis." Ep., ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 316.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with Maxentius to have gone to Rome[1] before this to get the affair between us settled. But Maxentius was unwilling to be judged by you, and preferred a verdict at Mantua. Thither I repaired. Not finding my opponent there, I would not wait; but, showing the emperor his letter, in which he decided that the matter should be concluded at Rome, I declared that I would only enter into the case before the vicar of Blessed Peter, whose place, with the power of binding and loosing bestowed upon him by Christ our God, you hold; and if his suffragans have decided the affair in his favour, there is fulfilled in them the saying of the Apostle (Phil. ii. 21): "All seek the things that are their own, not the things that are Jesus Christ's." For it is only right that he who is the head of all, should judge all. During many years our Lord has given to His Church no more honourable, upright, and just prelate than you, O most blessed father, whom no one can cause to swerve from the right path. You are not moved by the favour of princes nor by the persuasions of those below you. Occupying the throne of Peter, you display his firmness. Up to this, the princes of this world have not presumed to interfere in this matter, but have left it to you, though gifts have blinded the eyes of some of their subjects to justice.

But now, as I understand, Maxentius openly boasts that, by a decree of the emperor, he is to have the diocese of Istria. I, however, fully trust that you will be my defender.

Better informed than his predecessor of the truth with regard to the respective rights of the two Sees, Gregory

[1] It would appear from a letter of the emperors Louis and Lothaire that they thought that Venerius had actually gone to Rome. "In litteris sanctitatis tuæ scriptum reperimus, quod tu secundum nostram jussionem propter contentionem tuam et Maxentii finiendam Romam venisti," etc., quoted *ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

favoured Venerius. Like many another ambitious prelate, unable to establish his rights in the legitimate way, Maxentius appealed to the secular arm. Backed by Lothaire,[1] whom this history has shown ever ready to interfere in the concerns of others, whether Pope or emperor, Maxentius compelled the bishops of Istria to yield him obedience. It was altogether to no purpose that Gregory warned him to desist. The quarrels between Aquileia and Grado were to continue to disturb both their own peace and that of Rome.

ii. John of Naples.

Very interesting and edifying is the history of bishop John of Naples, as we find it in the pages of John, the Deacon,[2] who in the latter half of this ninth century wrote down all he could discover relative to the lives of the bishops of the Church to which he was attached. The last bishop he wrote of was Athanasius I., who died in 872. A certain Bonus, duke of Naples, turned his mind to oppressing its Church. In vain did the saintly bishop Tiberius threaten the duke with the judgments of God. Bonus cast him into prison, and ordered the election of another bishop. This arbitrary proceeding was stoutly resisted by a learned and holy deacon of the same name as our author. At once, by a whim not unusual with tyrants, Bonus declared that the young deacon should himself be the new bishop. "Never," cried the youth, "will I be an intruder into the See." The enraged duke thereupon threatened to decapitate Tiberius and his household if he were not obeyed. To avoid greater evils, John consented to be elected on condition that he was to be allowed to visit Tiberius, and that the latter was not to

[1] "Maxentius, Lotharii regis fultus favore . . . . repetito seculari subsidio, episcopos (Istriæ) ad sibi reverentiam . . . . exhibendam coegit." Dandolo, *ib.*, c. 3.

[2] *Chronicon Epp. S. Neap. Eccles.*, ap. Muratori, *R. I. S.*, I. ii., or *M. G. SS. Langob.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

be harmed nor removed from the palace, conditions to which the tyrant, who must have conceived an admiration for John, agreed. The day before the outraged bishop Tiberius died, so kindly had he been treated by John, that he publicly declared that his quondam deacon had taken the bishopric during his lifetime, out of compassion for him, and not from any ambition. He accordingly hoped that no condemnation,[1] either of the Roman See or of others, would fall upon him. On the death of Tiberius, the duke Sergius, for Bonus had died meanwhile (834), moved by this declaration of the dying Tiberius, sent envoys to Rome to ask that John might be enthroned. But before Gregory would consent, he convinced himself by his legates that all that had been said in the candidate's favour was really true. To the immense profit of the people of Naples, John was summoned to Rome and duly recognised.[2] After all we have had to write of the ambition and cruel faithlessness displayed by men in high places during the years that Gregory was Pope, it is pleasing to read of the devotedness and gratitude which Tiberius and John of Naples displayed towards each other.

An episcopal candidate.

Before passing on to speak of Gregory's dealings with certain bishops in Frankland, it will be worth while to quote a letter to him from 'a certain cleric' there. This cleric is, with good reason, believed to be the abbot Gozbald, who was made bishop of Würzburg in 842. The document is important, because it shows that the Carolingian monarchs did not always act so arbitrarily in the matter of appointing bishops as has been sometimes asserted. The 'certain cleric' writes: "From the time when Holy Church was founded on the solidity of the

[1] "Nulla immineat illi, nec a Romana Sede, vel ab aliis hominibus condemnatio." *Ib.*, n. 58.

[2] "Illico accersitum pontificali infula decoravit." *Ib.*, n. 59.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

firmest of rocks, it has ever been considered necessary by all who wish to live piously in Christ to seek all spiritual favours from the Apostolic See. Those who in their quest pass over it commit the greatest mistake. You know, my lord Gregory, the most excellent of all distinguished men, and prelate most beloved by me, that in seeking that to which the ardour of my mind impels me, I consider it must not be sought nor obtained from any other, or elsewhere, than from the holy Apostle Peter, and from you his successor and from your holy See. . . . For though some things which are not right are pleasant, still every wrong rather drags down to hell than raises to heaven.[1] This, my most beloved lord, I say on account of the letter of your son Louis (the German) and his request in my behalf, that you may know that I desire to receive from the Apostolic See, if such be the will of Christ, the sacred gift (of episcopal consecration), not stealthily, nor from a desire of filthy lucre, like some, but with a pure and single mind." Needless to say, much trouble and scandal would have been spared the Church if every candidate for the honours of the episcopate had been animated by the zealous, yet humble, sentiments that inflamed the heart of Gozbald.

iii. S. Aldric of Le Mans.

Of the bishops of *France* (Francia, Frankland), the one in whom Gregory took most interest, during the time of the troubles between Louis and his rebellious sons, was S. Aldric. His eminent virtues had caused him to be elected bishop of Le Mans (832), and had induced the Pope to send him, along with a pastoral staff, the vestment which he had himself worn during the Easter solemnities. With these presents he sent (833) him a letter in which, knowing him to be a devoted partisan of the emperor, he asked him to come to him if possible, and promised to grant him whatever favour

[1] "Licet quidam error gratus sit, omnis tamen error malus magis tendit in tartara, quam surgat ad siderea." *M. G. Epp.*, v. 618.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

he chose to ask of the Apostolic See.[1] When Gregory made his memorable journey into France in 833, he is *said* to have written a letter to Aldric, in which, if it be not a forgery, he decided that any accusations alleged against S. Aldric must be brought before him. It is supposed that owing to his unshaken fidelity to the unfortunate emperor Louis, proceedings were instituted against Aldric with a view to getting him removed from his See, and that the saint appealed to the Pope. The fact that the above-mentioned reply of the Pope was in some of its copies undated, and hence had been printed without a date in some works, has caused certain writers to transfer all persecution of Aldric, along with this letter itself, to the year 840, after the death of his supporter, the emperor Louis. But in the copy printed by Mabillon,[2] Gregory's letter is dated from Cohlambur (Columbaria, Colmar), July 8, 833. It was therefore, *if genuine*, written before he returned to Rome, and not unlikely whilst full of indignation at the baseness exhibited on the 'Field of Lies,' and at the way he had himself been treated by Lothaire. He accordingly took advantage of this appeal to address a strong letter to the bishops of "Gaul, Europe and Germany." He lays down that Aldric may, if he think fit, 'appeal[3] to us' from the

[1] *Cf.* the *life* or *Gesta* (c. 44) of Aldric by his disciples, ap. *P. L.*, t. 115, or *M. G. SS.*, xv. (The best ed. of the *Gesta Ald.* is that by Charles and Froger, Mamers, 1889.) The *Gesta Aldrici*, strictly so called, do not go beyond the year 832, though Aldric held the See till 856. It has been maintained that the *Gesta* are really an autobiography. Additions, some of which may have been written down during Aldric's lifetime, have been made to the *Gesta* proper, and the whole inserted in the *Actus Epp. Cenomanensium*, a poor compilation by various authors of various ages down to the thirteenth century. The *Gesta* contain nineteen diplomas, several of which are regarded as either wholly or partially supposititious.

[2] *Analect. Vet.*, p. 298, or ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 81.

[3] "Liceat illi (Aldrico) . . . . nos appellare . . . . et juxta patrum decreta suas exercere atque finire actiones . . . . Cum nulli dubium

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

decision of the primates of the province, "in accordance with decrees of the fathers, and that, till that appeal has been heard, no one is to presume to pass any sentence upon him." All are exhorted to obey the Pope's mandate if they wish to remain in communion with the apostolic church, 'which is their head.' He concludes by reminding his correspondents that, "by his present decision, he is not ordering anything new, but is only reaffirming what has been of old decreed. For no one is ignorant that not only episcopal causes, but all that relates to our holy religion, must be referred to the Apostolic See, as to the head, and must thence take their rule." This energetic letter, and the

sit, quod non solum pontificalis causatio, sed omnis S. religionis relatio ad sedem apostolicam, quasi ad caput, debet referri." *Ib.* Some historians call the authenticity of this letter in question; *e.g.* Jaffé, 2579 (1958), in the new edition; while Pagi, on the other hand, declares that nothing conclusive has been urged against the document, which, till lately, was generally accepted by the learned. But since the labours of Hinschius on the decretals of the false Isidore, Hampe, its latest editor, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. p. 72, has no hesitation in deciding that it is spurious.

To me, however, it does not seem to have been proved that the writer of this letter has used the False Decretals. It has certainly been shown to be a cento of the words of others, but there is not a sentence in it which cannot be traced to an authentic source, as the notes of Hampe abundantly prove. Twice only is a source quoted by name, and in both cases is it genuine and correctly cited. No doubt most of the sections of this letter are to be found in different portions of the False Decretals. But the obvious reason is that far the greater number of citations in it are from the works of popes Leo I. and Innocent I., and these are writers upon whom the author of the False Decretals has himself largely drawn. Further, the *Gesta Aldrici* make it clear that the Pope and Aldric were actually in correspondence in the year 833. This fact and the accurate date given in the document in question speak for its genuineness. On the other hand, the address "to the bishops of Gaul, *Europe*, and Germany" is certainly curious. Here unable, amid the dense obscurity which surrounds the question of the exact time of the appearance of the canonical collections of Benedict, the Deacon (Benedictus Levita), and of the False Isidore, to offer a decided opinion on the matter, I must leave the difficulty regarding the authenticity of this letter of Gregory IV. to Aldric of Le Mans.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

rapid restoration of Louis the Pious to power seem to have prevented any harm from coming to Aldric at this time. But his enemies were able to get the upper hand of him for a short time after the death of Louis, till he was reinstated by Charles the Bald.

In connection with this case, Jager[1] well remarks that it was time for the popes to intervene in the matter of the condemnation of bishops. The metropolitans were becoming mere tools in the hands of the princes. Hence, in restricting the powers of the metropolitans and summoning bishops before them, the popes prevented both the metropolitans from being seduced from the path of duty and the bishops from being oppressed.

Gregory's actions and the 'False Decretals.'

In concluding our notice of Gregory's relations with bishops and metropolitans, it may be observed that they are enough of themselves to show that the *False Decretals*, which are soon to make their appearance on the scene, added absolutely nothing to the rights of the Pope, well understood and recognised before they were ever thought of. The *False Decretals* have been made to appear as a sort of magic wand, which, skilfully handled by the popes and other interested individuals, were powerful enough to blot out from men's minds the knowledge of the position and rights previously occupied by the Pope in the Church, and to at once create a new order of things. *Credat Judæus!* What is of historical certainty, is that neither the popes, nor any other Christian writers who subscribed to the papal power, based it on any other ground than the words of Our Lord, "Thou art Peter," etc., and the other kindred texts.

Attention to singing in France.

If his alleged excessive attention to works of piety had

[1] *Hist. de l'Église de France*, v. 9. In 831 Gregory sent the pallium to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury. *Cf. Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

some effect in bringing difficulties on the emperor Louis, it was certainly not altogether unproductive of good. It resulted in the further cultivation of at least one of the arts. For, following in his father's and grandfather's footsteps, Louis turned his attention to church music. Under cantors whom he had induced Pope Hadrian to send to him, Charlemagne had established two schools of singing, one at Soissons and the other at Metz.[1] By these authorities the antiphonaries of France had to be regulated.

Metz had been prepared to become a centre of this kind by the action of its bishop, S. Chrodegang. Probably about 754, he had adopted the Roman liturgy and its chant (*Romana cantilena*).[2] Other local and individual efforts in the same direction were followed by a decree of king Pippin abolishing the Gallican liturgy, which had fallen into the same state of disorder as the Church itself in Gaul under the latter Merovingians. The action of Pippin was endorsed by Charlemagne.[3]

Not unnaturally, then, was a deacon of the Church of Metz picked out by Louis to be sent to Rome (831) to obtain information on certain matters connected with the choral and other parts of the ritual. Amalarius, for such was the deacon's name, was most kindly received by the

[1] It was at the school of Metz that Aldric of Mans learnt the 'cantum Romanum' (*Gesta Ald.*, c. 1), and from it that the ecclesiastical chant was called the chant of Metz, "ecclesiastica cantilena dicatur metensis." Mon. Sangall., *Gesta Karoli*, i. 10.

[2] "Clerum abundanter lege divina Romanaque imbutum cantilena, morem atque ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ servare præcepit." Paul, the Deacon, *Gesta Epp. Mett.*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 95, p. 709.

[3] *Admonitio Generalis*, c. 80. *Omni clero.*—"Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur, secundum quod b. m. genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit ob unanimitatem apostolicæ sedis et S. Dei ecclesiæ . . . . concordiam." *Cf.* his *Ep. generalis*, p. 80; both ap. *M. G. Capit.*, i., ed. Boretius. *Cf. Libri Carolini*, i. 6 (*P. L.*, t. 98).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Pope, who put him for instruction under one Theodore, who was then archdeacon of the Roman Church. When he had obtained the information he was in quest of, he asked the Pope to send an antiphonary to the emperor Louis. But Gregory had to acknowledge that he had not a suitable one to send. All those, doubtless the ones of sufficient value and accuracy, which he had to spare, he had allowed, he said, the abbot Wala to take with him to France.[1] This journey of the deacon of Metz, and the few recorded facts in connection with it, are worth noting, at least so far as they show us the interest that was then taken in church music in France; and the rarity, owing to the expense of their production, of works of such a kind and size as antiphonaries.

The 'Feast of All Saints,' 835.

Whilst on the subject of the mutual action of Gregory and Louis in the matter of the ritual of the Church, it may be noted that we have it on the authority of Ado of Vienne that, in accordance with directions received from Gregory, Louis decreed that the feast of 'All Saints,' which the Romans observed from the institution of Pope Boniface IV., should be celebrated throughout all Gaul and Germany on the 1st of November.[2]

Death of Gregory.

Gregory, the quiet and unassuming man, the peace-loving priest, died in January 844, and was buried in St. Peter's.[3]

[1] Amalarius has himself preserved for us the knowledge of these facts in the prologue which he wrote to his work, *De ordine Antiphon.* *Cf.* also his work, *De officiis Ecclesiast.*, and the preface to the second edition thereof, where the help he received from Roman ecclesiastics to enable him to correct this volume is stated. Both these works may be read ap. *P. L.*, t. 105.

[2] Ado (†875) archbishop of Vienne (consec. 860), records the fact in his *Martyrology*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 123.

[3] Four denarii of this Pope bear, on the reverse, the name Ludovvicus Imp. Pius, and, on the obverse, the names of Gregory and St. Peter. A fifth has a P. after the Imp., standing probably for *Per-*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

petuus. Two others with the *Pius* have Hlotharius Imp. *Cf.* Promis, p. 57, and Pizzamiglio, *Prime Monete Papali*, p. 61. Some of Gregory's bulls are dated by the era of the Incarnation, still up to his time but rarely used. The earliest known bulls on Paper (*bulles pancartes*) belong to this Pope, from whose time bishops, though called *brethren* by the popes, were forbidden to give the like appellation to the popes; see Ep. Greg. IV., ap. *M. G. SS.*, v. p. 228. *Cf.* Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie du Moyen Age*, p. 1057.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SERGIUS II.

A.D. 844–847.

Sources.—The author of the biography of Sergius in the ordinary copies of the *Liber Pontificalis*, after giving a full account of the early life of Sergius, of his election to the See of Peter and of the action of the emperor Lothaire and his son Louis, which immediately followed it, suddenly breaks off his interesting historical narrative, to enumerate church repairs and decorations. And he does so with much the same phrase[1] as the biographer of Gregory IV. breaks off his. Hence it would seem that, for many of the papal biographers, it was comparatively easy to procure the account of a Pope's election, and a list of his 'Church works.' To look up the rest of the actions of a pontificate was a more difficult matter, and, perhaps for that reason, was not attempted by many. From the complete similarity between the two biographies of Gregory IV. and Sergius II., it may be safely concluded that they were the work of one and the same author. In addition, however, to the ordinary text of the *life* of Sergius II., from which *alone* practically all authors, medieval as well as modern, have drawn their materials for their biographies of this Pope, there exists another, and, in parts, very different text which Duchesne has republished (*L. P.*, ii. p. 91 f.), side by side with the one generally received. This peculiar text

[1] "Verum quia investigare cuncta quæ gessit celeri sermone non possumus ea licet breviter, ad notitiam omnium perducamus, quæ sacris . . . . obtulit locis." *Vit. Greg.* "Jam quia lingua cuncta, quæ gessit, per ordinem explere non prævalet, transeamus ad ea quæ in sanctis locis obtulit." *Vit. Serg.*

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

rests solely on a MS. (Farnesianus E.[6]) now lost, but which was known to, and examined by, various scholars (Luke Holstein, etc.) in the first half of the eighteenth century. Bianchini, in his edition of the *L. P.*, has preserved a couple of facsimiles of this MS., which was written in uncial letters, and was so exceptionally well edited, that it must have been prepared for a person of very high rank. It was written in the middle of the ninth century, and it was from it that Vignoli's nephew, Ugolini, published, in the third volume of his uncle's edition of the *L. P.*, the *life* of Sergius of which there is here question. It has just been stated that the generally known text was practically the only one ever used by either medieval or modern scholars. In the case of Middle Age authors there is one exception. The *Farnesian* text has evidently been used by the *Pseudo-Liutprand*. A series of *Lives of the Popes*, from St. Peter to Formosus inclusive (ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 1149 ff.), was at one time assigned to Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, of whom more hereafter, because the *lives*, which are for the most part taken from the *Liber Pont.*, closed with quotations from one of his works. However, it would appear that the biographies in question were the work of a German monk, not unlikely of the great abbey of Hersfeld, who could not well have written till towards the end of the tenth century—Liutprand died 972—and, according to Duchesne, did not write till towards the end of the eleventh century. In the collection of this anonymous monk, the *life* of Sergius II. is evidently drawn from the MS. Farnesianus. As set forth in this solitary MS., the biography of Sergius is written in a spirit violently hostile to him. But, seeing that all which is there said to his disparagement is found at the *end* of a biographical sketch, which is to all practical purposes (the favourable character assigned to Sergius in its earlier part included) like the text of the rest of the MSS. which have come down to us, it would appear that the addition must have been appended by some personal enemy of the Pope, and that, too, more or less surreptitiously. So little did the appendix get into general circulation, that it was perhaps added to the Farnesian MS. only. Had it not been an unauthorised spiteful addition, it could not well have failed to have been generally used. The account of the doings of the Saracens which it preserves is particularly spirited and graphic,

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and the character it assigns to the Pope, if overdrawn, is evidently at least drawn from life. It is most unfortunate that the MS. itself is lost. A critical study of it might have led to the formation of some definite conclusion as to the circumstances of its compilation. *Cf.* Duchesne, *L. P.*, i., cxcix., and ii., p. 1 f.

Some further information concerning Sergius can be gathered from that portion (838–863) of the *Annals of Fulda* (the famous monastery in the diocese of Mayence), written by Rudolf (†865), a monk and priest of the said monastery and a confidant of king Louis II., ap. Pertz, *M. G. SS.*, i., and from the annals of Prudentius of Troyes, etc.

The letters (ap. *P. L.*, t. 126) of the great Hincmar of Rheims (consecrated archbishop May 3, 845; †December 882), of whom we shall hear more in the text, will also furnish a small quota towards our knowledge of the doings of Sergius. The history of the sacking of the basilicas of S. Peter and of S. Paul (846) is given by the biographer of Leo IV., and other contemporary writers.

There are extant two or three of his letters, ap. *P. L.*, tt. 129 and 106, and ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 583.

Works.—A useful book for this period is Hincmar, *Étude sur le IX^e^ siècle*, by l'abbé Vidieu, Paris, 1875.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	Louis, the Pious, 814–840.
Theophilus, 829–842.	Lothaire I., 823–855.
Theodora and Michael III., 842–856.	

Early years.

SERGIUS, whom the influence of the nobility, this time, however, not without vigorous opposition, was to carry to the See of Peter, received his father's name,[1] and, as might

[1] In his *life* of this Pope, Platina writes that 'it is said' that this Pope changed his previous name of Os or Bocca Porci (Hog's mouth) into Sergius, for shame's sake. It was Sergius IV. that made this change, and that in accordance with the custom, which had come into vogue after the time of John XII., that popes should change their names on their election.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

have been expected, was of noble birth. His family had already given one Pope (Stephen V.) to the Church, and was soon to give another (Hadrian II.). He was born in the fourth quarter of the city, but whether in the fourth ecclesiastical or fourth civil region, in the Alta Semita[1] or Via Sacra, is not clear. His father, Sergius, died whilst his son was very young, so that the task of his early education fell entirely upon his mother. To her 'daily joy' (*exultabat quotidie*) the little Sergius fully responded to the efforts made by her to bring him up in the fear of God. So that, as we are told, he even shunned the sports of his companions that no one might witness anything unbecoming in him. The virtues of his noble ancestry seemed to be summed up in him. And, although his pious mother died when he was only twelve years of age, the good seed had been sown, and he grew up to be a delight to his fellow-men, humble before God, distinguished in mind and body, the support and comfort of the poor, a despiser of the empty things of this world, but an eager seeker after divine wisdom.

The talents and misfortunes of the little Sergius attracted the attention of Pope Leo III., who sent him to the 'school of cantors'[2] that he might learn not only music, but also the ordinary subjects of general knowledge. To the great pleasure of the Pope, Sergius was soon 'at the top of his class.' He was ordained acolyte by him. The favour he had found in the eyes of Leo, Sergius found in the eyes of Leo's successors. Stephen made him a subdeacon, and Paschal created him cardinal priest of the

[1] This civil region corresponded roughly with the fourth ecclesiastical.

[2] "Tunc præsul (Leo) eum scholæ cantorum ad erudiendum communibus tradidit litteris, et ut mellifluis instrueretur cantilenæ melodiis." *L. P.* When he became Pope, Sergius rebuilt on a finer scale this "schola Cantorum, quæ pridem Orphanotrophium vocabatur." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Church of SS. Martin and Sylvester (*S. Martino ai Monti*). This church was afterwards restored by Sergius when he became Pope.[1] In a 'confession,' which still exists beneath the high altar, he placed the remains of Sylvester, of five other popes,[2] and of other saints from the catacomb of S. Priscilla. Unfortunately the mosaics with which he then adorned the apse have perished, doubtless in the great 'restoration' of 1650. Rude though the mosaics of this age were, they have preserved for us, in the figures of the popes they present to us, not only their dress, but at least some distorted shadow of their personal appearance. Their loss, therefore, is always to be deplored. Under Gregory IV. the upward career of Sergius still went on, and he was made archpriest.

Elected Pope.

On the death of Gregory, the principal clergy (*proceres*) and the laity, both high and low,[3] assembled to deliberate on the choice of a candidate. 'By divine Providence,' after various names had been suggested, the minds of all were turned to Sergius. It was unanimously resolved to select the archpriest.

An anti-pope.

When this assembly had broken up, a certain deacon, John by name, collected a band of the rabble[4] of the city, and, to the terror of its residents, broke into the Lateran palace by force. But the Roman mob, easily roused, were just as easily frightened. They had not held the Lateran

[1] Its ambo bore the inscription: "Salvo Domno nostro bb. Sergio P. juniore." The work was only finished under Leo IV., as we learn from another inscription, which began: "Sergius hanc cœpit præsul quam cernitis aulam." *Cf.* Marucchi, *Basiliques de Rome*, p. 320. He also subjected to it a rural parish. *Cf. L. P.*, ii. p. 102, n. 2.

[2] An inscription, still to be read in the church, gives the names of the saints whose bodies he rescued, 'dirutis cimiteriis.' It is published *ib.*, p. 321. *Cf. L. P.*, ii. pp. 93-4.

[3] "Proceres et Romanæ urbis optimates, universusque Ecclesiæ populus." *Ib.*

[4] "Persuaso quodam satis imperito et agresti populo." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

an hour, when the news of the gathering of 'the princes[1] of the Quirites' (*Quiritum principes*) caused them to disperse and abandon John to his fate. The 'princes,' with a large body of horse, betook themselves to the basilica of SS. Martin and Sylvester, and with great joy and pomp escorted Sergius to the Lateran. A shower of snow which fell that same day seemed to the people a sure sign that their 'candidate'[2] was certainly the one chosen of heaven. John was ignominiously thrust into a monastery; and, but for the prohibition of Sergius, "who was unwilling to render evil for evil," the unhappy deacon would have been cut to pieces.

Sergius, Pope.

To the great joy of all, Sergius was consecrated in St. Peter's, January, 844. If full trust is to be placed in the *Farnesian* edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*, Sergius, the Pope, was far from resembling Sergius, the bright young acolyte, Sergius, the favourite of Pope after Pope. He had now lost all his graces of body and mind. Owing to the gout, he was deprived of the use of his feet and almost of his hands, and was, not unnaturally, irritable, and not too careful in his choice of words. If he was troubled with the gout, it was no doubt because he was addicted to the pleasures of the table. As a gourmand, he had, of course, no appetite for business, but entrusted that to one of his brothers named Benedict.[3] No wonder, then, that it is further stated—if all this be not spiteful exaggeration—

[1] Note the growing power of the Roman nobles. They are now 'princes.' His epitaph (ap. Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 105) shows that Sergius, unfortunately, as the history of the tenth century will show, still further increased their influence:

"Romanos proceres non tantum famine verbi
Rebus et humanis nocte dieque favens."

[2] 'Candidate,' from *candidus*, white. Any classical dictionary of antiquities will explain the connection.

[3] "Pontifex imbecillis membris ob humorem podagricum . . . . animosus . . . . convitiis deditus." *L. P.*, ii. p. 97.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that 'the princes of the Quirites,' whose privileges he increased, set such a man at naught (*adnullabant ipsum*).

Benedict is described as worse than his brother. 'Heavy and brutal,' he took advantage of his brother's helplessness and usurped all ecclesiastical and civil power. Besides being blamed for wasting the funds of the Church and State over buildings, on which, 'with the worst of taste,'[1] he laboured day and night, he is denounced for obtaining from the emperor, by the aid of bribery, "all power and dominion over Rome."[2]

It may be remembered that, by the Constitution of 824, it was arranged that two *missi* should be appointed, one by the Pope and one by the emperor, to see that the various local officials performed their duty properly. It is quite possible that, appointed by his brother as his *missus*, he succeeded in inducing Lothaire to name him *missus* on his behalf also. At any rate, when he returned to Rome, he acted as its monarch,[3] and anticipated the Alberics of the following century.

Though a slave to immorality (*mulierc*ularum *sectator*), he did not hesitate even to usurp the bishopric of Albano,[4] "that he might the better fight for the devil." Once possessed of authority over civilians and ecclesiastics, he proceeded to wring money out of both alike by every expedient. He made the restoration of his brother's

[1] "Insulsus et operibus rusticis deditus." *Ib.* Here it would seem a carping spirit makes itself manifest.

[2] "Ad d. imperatorem cum multis copiis munerum adiens, primatum et dominium Romæ ab eo petiit et concessisse sibi gloriabatur." *Ib.*

[3] "Post reversionem suam ad tantam perrupit contumaciam . . . . transcensis omnibus, ut monarchiam obtineret Romæ." *Ib.*

[4] In the church of S. Martino *ai Monti* there was an inscription recording certain work done by a bishop of Albano. The name of the bishop, in accordance with the custom of the age, was expressed in a monogram which has been interpreted as standing for *Benedictus*). ✠ Post obitum D$\overline{\text{mn}}$. Serg. PP. (monogram) E$\overline{\text{ps}}$. C. fecit ✠. Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 103.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Church of S. Martino a pretext to extort money from the monasteries and from the people. Bishoprics and every other ecclesiastical office were sold publicly to the highest bidder. Sometimes even more than two thousand mancuses (even a silver mancus was worth two shillings and sixpence) was extorted for a single bishopric.

This terrible indictment its author concluded by declaring that it was his belief that God had sent the Saracens against Rome, because no ecclesiastic could be found bold enough to check these excesses or to die in the attempt. "For it is better to die gloriously than live in ignominy."

Leaving the reader to extract what truth there is in this tirade, we must retrace our steps to the period of Sergius's elevation to the See of Peter.

Lothaire's indignation.

When news of the consecration of Sergius without imperial intervention reached the ears of the emperor Lothaire, he was indignant, and at once despatched his son Louis, Drogo, bishop of Metz, a number of clergy and nobles, and a large force, "to see[1] to it that for the future on the death of a Pope no one was consecrated except with his permission and in presence of his envoys."

On the mode of action of this army of Lothaire's Franks, the armies of the Germans in the later Middle Ages seem to have modelled theirs. At any rate, both Louis and the later German emperors had one and the same sanguinary manner of announcing their coming to Rome. As soon as his army, advancing from Pavia, reached Papal territory "in the neighbourhood of Bologna,"[2] they began to slay

[1] Lotharius Hludowicum cum Drogone "acturos, ne deinceps decedente apostolico quisquam illic præter sui jussionem missorumque suorum præsentiam ordinetur antistes." *Prudent. Annal.*, ad an. 844. *Cf. L. P.*, n. viii.

[2] "Ipsi a quo in oras Bononiæ civitatis cum exercitibus sunt ingressi, tantas cædes, tantasque strages in populo peregerunt, ut . . . . perterriti . . . . se absconderent." *L. P.* According to Duchesne the

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and to ravage. And this they continued to do till they reached "the fountain or bridge of Capella." Here a sudden and most terrible storm of thunder and lightning, which killed some of Drogo's principal associates, terrified the Franks, but did not stop their fierce advance.

Louis is received at Rome with great honour, 844.

Sergius, however, by quiet firmness succeeded in pacifying Louis. Nine miles from Rome, he was flatteringly received by all the 'judges' of the city, and, when he had come within a mile of the city, he was met by the various companies of the Roman militia and of the *scholæ* of the foreigners, and by those who bore the 'signa' or crosses. All joined in chanting the customary hymns of welcome. Louis was greatly pleased at this reception and, accompanied by the Romans, drew near to St. Peter's. On the Sunday after Pentecost (June 8) he was met by the Pope at the top of the steps of the basilica. After embracing each other, holding the Pope by the right hand, Louis approached the silver gates of the church. They were shut; and the astonished monarch heard Sergius say that "if he came[1] with a good will and for the benefit of the Republic, the city and the church, he might pass through the gates opened by the Pope's order; but that, otherwise, they would never be opened for him by the Pope or by his orders."

On Louis's express declaration that he had not come with any ill-disposed or evil intent, the doors were opened, and all entered, singing the canticle, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

Louis crowned king of the Lombards.

As the Pope would not have the Frankish army within[2] the city, the troops, not content with taking what they required, destroyed what they did not want, so that the

best MS. reading would give us 'the fountain of Capella.'—In neither case has the place been identified.

[1] "Si pura mente . . . . et pro salute Reipublicæ . . . . huc advenisti, has mea ingredere januas jussione," etc. *Ib.*

[2] "Munitis clausisque portis, ut fieret minime concessit." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

suburbs presented the appearance of having been laid waste by a terrible storm.[1] On the Sunday (June 15) following his first arrival, Louis was solemnly anointed by the Pope, presented with the sword of state, and crowned king of the Lombards.[2]

Synod at Rome.

After the coronation, according to the papal biographer, there was for some days a violent altercation (*conflictum summi certaminis*) between Drogo of Metz, supported by the archbishops of Ravenna and Milan, by over twenty-three Italian bishops[3] from the North, from Tuscany, and from Spoleto, and by a number of counts, and the Pope, with other bishops and the Roman nobles. What exactly the contention was about the *Liber Pontificalis* does not state. But from what it does say of the proceedings of the assembly, it would seemingly have us conclude that the wordy strife was in connection with rights of supremacy over the city which were put forward by Drogo in behalf of Louis. The prudent words of the Pope so far gained the day that they caused his opponents to lay aside the fierceness of manner (*iram atque ferocitatem*) with which they had conducted the discussion in the first instance. In a quieter style they asked the Pope to allow the Romans to take an oath of fidelity to King Louis. To this Sergius firmly refused to give his consent. "To this neither I nor the Roman nobility will consent; but, if you wish it, I will permit them to take an oath of fidelity to the emperor." With this the Franks had to content themselves; and the Pope, King Louis, and the archbishops and bishops duly promised fidelity to Lothaire.

With this narrative of the papal biographer the accounts

[1] *Ib.*

[2] "Coronavit . . . . Regemque *Longobardis* præfecit." *Ib. Cf. Annal. Prudent.*, ad an. 844.

[3] The *L. P.* says that the bishops had assembled without any mandate from their metropolitans.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of the Frankish chroniclers appear not to agree. In the annals of Prudentius (ad an.), and in the life of Sergius by the Pseudo-Liutprand,[1] the crowning of Louis is placed after the holding of the council. "*Peracto negotio*," says Prudentius, "Hlodowicum pontifex Romanus unctione in regem consecratum cingulo decoravit." And the Pseudo-Liutprand also puts the coronation after the oath-taking, and after the council in which Sergius "was at length confirmed in his See"—*prædictum Sergium post multas contentiones in sede demum confirmaverunt* (Louis and Drogo). Many think, therefore, that the papal biographer has altered the order of events.

In accordance, presumably, with the convention of 824, it seems, indeed, clear that Louis came to investigate the legality of the election of Sergius; that a council was held to decide that point; that, of course, Louis was crowned after the holding of that council; and that the question of the oath arose in connection with the coronation of the young king. However, with all this the narrative in the *Liber Pontificalis* can be easily reconciled by supposing that there were two assemblies, one before and one after the coronation; and that of the two the latter was at least the more impressive, and hence more calculated to strike the attention of the papal biographer. For the very great majority of these biographers were very simple, though I believe truthful, men. The presence of an officially recognised Pope and a newly crowned king would naturally make the second assembly clearly convened to settle the question of the oath—more solemn, if less important, than the first gathering. The first council will have settled the question of the legality of the election of Sergius, the second will have discussed the consequences which some wished to draw from the coronation of Louis.

[1] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 1244.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Before the Franks left Rome, Ebbo of Rheims, and Bartholomew, archbishop of Narbonne, who had lost their rank (at the council of Thionville, 835) on account of the part they had taken against Louis the Pious, and in favour of the ungrateful Lothaire, begged the Pope to restore to them their palliums. Though their request was doubtless in harmony with Lothaire's wishes, Sergius firmly refused to grant it. Their Sees were in the kingdom of Charles the Bald, and he was anxious not to irritate him. Accordingly he would only admit them to lay communion. Ebbo will come to our notice again before we have finished with the *life* of Sergius. Ebbo of Rheims.

During the reign of Pope Gregory IV., Siconulf and Radelchis were fighting for the principality of Beneventum, and both of them were playing into the hands of the Saracens to get their help. Siconulf, 'Prince of the Beneventans,' as the *Book of the Popes* calls him, now came to Louis 'with a great army' to try and obtain his assistance. The papal biographer bewails the still further devastation of the country caused by the arrival of this additional army, and says that Rome seemed to be surrounded by a besieging host. Siconulf made Louis a present of a large sum of money, and promised to acknowledge his suzerainty if he would assist him. Louis received both the oath and the money of Siconulf, and gave him words in return.[1] But before he left the neighbourhood of Rome, Siconulf was most anxious to see the Pope, to get his blessing, and, no doubt, to win from him a promise of assistance. Admitted to the presence of Sergius, we are told that with the greatest humility he prostrated himself on the ground, and kissed his feet. When he had received the Pope's blessing, he departed southwards with his army, and Louis returned to Pavia with his. We may be sure Siconulf of Beneventum.

[1] *Cf. L. P.*; Erchempert, c. 18; *Annal. Prudent.*, ad an. 844.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

that this visit of Siconulf to Sergius was in connection with his struggle against his rival. But our records do not tell us whether he wished to secure the Pope's influence in his behalf with the emperor or Louis, or whether it was simply the support of Sergius himself that he was seeking.

Departure of Louis.

On the departure of Louis, the whole Roman people, nobles and commons, "freed from a great plague, and delivered from a cruel and tyrannical yoke, venerated Sergius as the author of their safety and the restorer of peace."[1] But he himself gave the glory of what had been done 'to the divine assistance.'[2]

Drogo, papal legate, 844.

Despite the difference between them at the synod, Sergius must evidently have conceived a high idea of Drogo's character; for before his departure from Rome, he named the archbishop his legate for France and Germany.[3] Were it not for the ready way in which Drogo afterwards resigned his newly acquired dignity, and for the known *animus* with which Hincmar of Rheims defended his rights as a metropolitan, one might be tempted to believe that writer when he pointedly insinuates[4] that Drogo had made use of his birth and influential position to bring pressure to bear on Sergius to induce him to bestow such a high office on him.

In the letter in which[5] the Pope announced this

[1] *L. P.*, n. xviii.

[2] *L. P.* Henceforth in the *L. P.* there is nothing but lists of offerings to churches.

[3] "Drogonem . . . . sui vicarium Galliarum Germaniarumque partibus designavit." *Prudent. Annal.*, ad an. 844. *Cf.* his epitaph, ap. Pfister, *L'archevêque de Metz Drogon.*

"Hic presul, preses, dominus *primasque cis Alpes.*"

[4] Ep. 30, n. 31, ap. *P. L.*, t. 126, p. 206. "Fastu regiæ prosapiæ subvectus sed quod affectu ambiit, effectu non habuit."

[5] Ap. *P. L.*, t. 106. "Romanorum Francorumque concorporavit (Carolus) imperium."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

appointment to the Transalpine bishops, he says that, as 'solicitude for all the churches' prevents him from labouring among them in person, he sends, in accordance with the custom of his predecessors, a vicar in his stead, viz., "Drogo, archbishop of Metz, the son of the glorious emperor Charles, ... who made one the empire of the Romans and Franks." And he considers that, "furnished with the authority of the prince of the apostles, conspicuous for his learning and sanctity, and, moreover, the uncle of the emperor Lothaire and of his brothers, Louis (the German) and Charles (the Bald)," he is a very fit person to act in the Pope's stead. And, as Drogo has to be responsible for them all, all must give him their obedience. He is empowered by the Pope to assemble 'general synods of the empire'; and, if any one from those parts wants to appeal to the Holy See, he must first appeal to Drogo, and only come to Rome if the bishops of the province cannot agree on his case. Drogo is also licensed to examine into the election and qualifications of bishops and abbots, "save in all things the primacy of this universal Roman See, and the honour of our authority, as well as the rights and honour of our most dear and spiritual son Lothaire." Sergius then goes on to speak of the necessity of the three royal brothers keeping the peace between them, and adds that if any one of them prefers the 'prince of discord' to 'catholic peace,' "him,"[1] with the help of God, "will we endeavour to the best of our ability to chastise with the authority of the canons. . . . Those who love war are children of the devil."

But to no purpose did the Pope in conclusion exhort the bishops to avoid dissensions and to act together. The

Drogo resigns his dignity, 844.

[1] "Hunc, merito, Deo auxiliante, canonicis auctoritatibus, prout melius possumus, castigare studemus." *Ib.* This Ep. is also in *M. G. Epp.*, v. 583.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

same jealousy, which, working between the princes and nobles of the different kingdoms of the Franks, prevented political union in the empire, operated among the bishops to render impossible a united ecclesiastical government in the empire. The green-eyed monster devoured the good work that might have been done by an emperor over a united empire, and by Drogo over the united episcopate of the empire. And so at a council held at Verneuil-sur-Oise by Charles the Bald (December 844), for the reformation of the Church in his kingdom, his bishops, not wishing to be subject to a legate whose See was in the kingdom of the emperor Lothaire, and yet at the same time unwilling to offend so great a man as Drogo, declared in their eleventh 'capitulum' that they did not wish to express their sentiments on his appointment till a great council of the bishops of Gaul and Germany had spoken on the subject. Seeing the feeling against him which inspired this decree, Drogo abandoned his struggle to keep unity in the empire, and resigned[1] his dignity. It would seem that as in nature fresh substances are only called into existence by heat, so a great deal of heat, in the shape of quarrelling and fighting, was absolutely necessary to bring into being the kingdoms of modern Europe, the birth-throes of which we are now witnessing.

Intrigues of Ebbo of Rheims.

What Ebbo had been unable to accomplish at Rome, viz., his restoration to the See of Rheims, he made another effort to accomplish elsewhere by very different means. To punish him for the part he had taken against the emperor Louis I., he had been solemnly deposed by the Council of Thionville (835). But on the death of Louis and the accession of his supporter Lothaire, Ebbo was re-established (December 840) in his See by the help of his

[1] *Cf.* Hefele, v. 312 f., and *Conc. Verneuse*, ap. *Capit. Reg. Franc.*, ii. 382, ed. Boretius.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

patron, the new emperor. But the next year he had had to leave his See once again, on account of the enmity of Charles the Bald, who of course was naturally hostile to him on account of the part he had formerly taken against his father and himself, and because he now sided with Lothaire. In 845, a council held at Beauvais insisted on the filling up of the See of Rheims, which had been practically vacant for ten years. In succession to Ebbo, first Fulk, and, after his death, Notho, had been elected to the vacant See. From one cause or another, among other reasons for fear lest Ebbo should contrive to get himself reinstated, they had neither of them been consecrated. But in consequence of the action of the Council of Beauvais, Hincmar was elected to the See and consecrated (May 3, 845). It was not, however, till 847 that he received the pallium from Pope Leo IV.[1] Of all the prelates of the ninth century, Hincmar was second to none. He was as illustrious by his piety as by his birth, as remarkable for his energy as for his learning. The trusted counsellor of Charles the Bald, he was ever true to him and to the Carolingian line. And if his strong will, and a very exalted idea of his own position, authority, and rights—for always he was Hincmar — brought him, sometimes even through his own fault, into rather violent contact with bishops, kings, or popes, he was none the less a noble character, and one of the glories of the Church in France.

Taking advantage of another outbreak of ill-feeling between Lothaire and Charles (846), Ebbo induced the emperor to work for his restoration. On the ground that there was a division in the Church of Rheims on the subject of the ordination of Hincmar, Lothaire obtained

[1] *Cf. Conc. Suession. iii.*, ap. Labbe, viii. 87, and Frodoard, *Hist. Remensis*, iii. c. 2.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

leave from the Pope to reopen[1] the question of the deposition of Ebbo. Sergius himself wrote to Charles the Bald, to direct him to send Guntbold, archbishop of Rouen, and the other bishops whom Guntbold might himself select, to Treves, there to meet the Pope's envoys and to look into the state of the case between Hincmar and Ebbo. He also asked him to cause Hincmar to present himself at Treves, an order that he repeated to Hincmar. To Guntbold the Pope wrote to the same effect, adding that he would send his envoys to Treves after Easter (846) to carry out the emperor's wishes.[2]

But for some cause the papal envoys never arrived. Perhaps the inroad of the Saracens, of which we shall speak immediately, and then the death of Sergius, hindered their departure. Guntbold, however, held a synod at Paris at the close of the same year. The case was, of course, given against Ebbo, who finally retired to the kingdom of Louis the German.[3] That sovereign gave him the bishopric of Hildesheim, in the province of Mayence. Ebbo closed his turbulent life in 851, but his 'case' did not die till long after that date.

The Saracens at Rome, 846.

During this same year (846) the attention of Sergius must have often been directed towards the Saracens, who had, in the course of it, seized the island of Ponza, even before their turbans had for the first time been descried from the walls of Rome. At any rate Adelbert, the energetic marquis of Tuscany and Frankish protector of the papal

[1] *Cf.* Frodoard (or Flodoard, †966), *l.c.* Frodoard had been educated in Rheims, and afterwards, as one of its clergy, had charge of the archives of the Cathedral. *Cf.* Ep. 4, Hincmar. *ad Synod. Suess.*, c. 4, ap. *P. L.*, t. 126, p. 53; and Ep. 11, p. 82.

[2] Hincmar, Ep. 26 (*Opp.*, ii. 304, ed. Sirmond), but Ep. 11, ed. Migne, "in servitium imperatoris."

[3] Frodoard and Hincmar, *ubi sup.* Hefele, v. 322. Ebbo received Hildesheim by virtue of a privilege of Gregory IV., as we learn from the synodal letter of the Council of Troyes (ad an. 867) to Nicholas I.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

territory of Corsica,[1] sent, on the 10th of August, an urgent letter to the Pope, informing him that a fleet of seventy-three ships, having on board an army of eleven thousand Saracens with five hundred horses, was in full sail from Africa to Rome. He advised him to remove within the fortifications of the city the bodies of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul[2] and the treasures from their basilicas, both of which were then outside the walls. According, however, to the *Farnesian* biographer, the incompetent brothers made light of the information. "All regarded it as incredible." But "the more prudent Romans," after taking counsel together, sent Adelbert's letter and messages of their own "to the subject cities and to their neighbours," directing all to hasten under arms to the sea-coast.[3] The only result of this was that a few sent for further information. Considering the frequent raiding descents which the Saracens had already made on various parts of the coasts of Italy, there can be no doubt that rumours of a plundering expedition to the Tiber must often have reached Rome. Unfulfilled, they had come to be discredited. This time, however, the cry of 'wolf' had not been raised without reason.

On the twenty-third,[4] the piratical fleet anchored off the mouth of the Tiber. The people of Ostia, on its left bank, made a feeble attempt at resistance, and then abandoned their city to the infidel. Portus, on the opposite shore, was also soon in their hands. Terrified on hearing all this, the Romans kept watch on their

[1] "Marcensis et tutor Corsicanæ insulæ." *L. P.*, n. xliv., Farnesian ed.

[2] "Ne de tanta *salute tra* (salutari re?) gens nefandissima paganorum exultare potuisset." *Ib.*

[3] Action such as this necessarily implies co-operation on the part of the ruling authorities. Again, therefore, we seem to have evidence of the malevolence of the *Farnesian* writer.

[4] This is correctly given as a Monday.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

walls night and day. But a company of the foreigners in Rome, consisting of English, Frisians, and Franks, marched boldly down to Portus, and inflicted some slight damage on a foraging party of the enemy. Joined by a number of Romans, another trifling success was scored by the foreign *scholæ*; but, discovering the great numbers of the enemy, they fell back towards Rome. Unfortunately, however, they were surprised and cut to pieces. Then, occupying the low hills that skirt the Tiber, the Saracens pushed up the river, accompanied by their fleet, destroying everything by fire and sword as they went along.[1] Some of the dukes (*duces*) of King Louis who had hastened towards Rome with what forces they could hurriedly gather together were driven in confusion into the city. St. Peter's fell into the hands of the infidels, and was plundered of all its treasures,[2] which, with those of St. Paul's, which shared the same fate as St. Peter's, Lanciani[3] estimates as amounting to three tons of gold and thirty of silver. Discomfited, however, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's, the marauders marched South, while their fleet sailed along the coast. At Gaeta the fortune of war again favoured them, and they were there enabled to embark in peace with their booty. But their ill-gotten gains never reached home. Their fleet was destroyed off Sicily by a terrible tempest, in which 'all perished,' and which even cast up some of their plunder on the Roman coasts.[4]

[1] At this point, unfortunately, the *Farnesian* addition comes to an abrupt close. The remainder of the story of this inroad has to be gleaned from brief notices in many different authors.

[2] "Ablatis cum ipso altari quod tumbæ App. principis superpositum fuerat omnibus ornamentis atque thesauris." Prudent., *Annal.*, 846.

[3] *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 129.

[4] Prudent., an. 847. *Cf.* Pseudo-Liutprand, *in vit. Sergii*; Johan., *Gesta Epp. Neap.*, c. 60, "Ecclesias App. . . . . diripuerunt," ap. *M. G. SS. Langob.*, or *R. I. S.*, i. pt. ii.; *Chron. S. Bened. Casin.*, c. 6, "Horatorium totum devastaverunt . . . . bb. Petri beatique

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

A *chanson de geste.*

The narrow escape which Rome, the centre of Christendom, had had from falling into the hands of the infidel, the sacking of the basilicas of the apostles, beloved by every Christian, made the most profound impression on the imagination of Western Europe. Soon, if not at once, enshrined in verse, the incident was conveyed to the knowledge of all by itinerant reciters. Under the title of "Destruction de Rome," a *chanson de geste*, certainly in existence in the twelfth century, and preserved for us in a MS. of the fourteenth, is full of details, many of them clearly accurate, of this sensational event. In the thirteenth century it used to be recited "every year at the fair of Lendit, in the plain of St. Denis." In accordance with facts, it bewails pathetically the ravages of the Saracens, who are ready

> "Pur gaitier le païs et de lonc e de lé;
> N'i remeigne chastels dungeons ne fermete,
> Monstiers ne abbeye qe ne soit enbrasé," etc.

While it laments the riches taken from St. Peter's, there is no mention of the loss of his body.

> "A Dex! com grans richesces i firent emporter,
> De coupes, de hanaps (et) d'argent et d'or cler
> Riches samis et pailes et cendals d'outre-mer."

But, when help arrives, the poet dramatically depicts Rome in flames.

> "Kant il vindrent a Rome, si virent luy port(e) overee,
> Et le fu el cite moult granment alume."[1]

The bodies of SS. Peter and Paul.

By this disastrous raid we are brought face to face with

ecclesiam Pauli," ap. *ib.*, and *R. I. S.*, i. pt. i.; *Chron. Vult.*, ap. *R. I. S.*, i. pt. ii., p. 390; *Ann. Weissemburg.*, an. 846, ap. *M. G. SS.*, i.; and *L. P.*, in vitt. Leon. IV. and Bened. III.

[1] See Lauer, *Le poème de la "Destruction de Rome,"* Rome, 1899, or in t. 19 of the *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.*, whence these details have been taken.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a very interesting question. Were the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul brought into the city before the arrival of the Saracens, or were they left in their respective basilicas and destroyed by the Saracens? It may be replied that there is no direct historical evidence that their sacred bodies were either removed or profaned. Arguing, however, from the condition of the two tombs in the year 846, Lanciani[1] gives it as his opinion "that the fate of the two holy places was not in all respects the same; that the sarcophagus of St. Peter, placed in a subterranean crypt, and protected by a case of solid metal embedded in masonry, escaped rifling, while that of St. Paul, a plain marble coffin level with the floor of the basilica, was certainly injured or destroyed. We find the evidence of the fact last mentioned in the *life* of Benedict III.: 'Sepulchrum (Pauli Ap.) quod a Sarracenis destructum fuerat, perornavit.'[2] The word *destructum*, however, cannot be taken in a literal sense; the lid of the sarcophagus—with the epitaph, Paulo Apostolo Mart(yri) engraved in the style of the age of Constantine—is still in existence. I saw it on December 1, 1891, having lowered myself from the fenestrella under the high altar."

Father Barnes[3] also holds that "the sacred body of St. Peter does not seem to have been interfered with"; and, judging from the existing condition of the apostle's tomb, believes that it was rendered still more inaccessible by the Romans having filled up the chamber above it with "loose stones and rubbish." "At St. Paul's," he says, "there was nothing to be done but to close the hole (by which the tomb of the apostle could be seen) with

[1] *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 131; *cf.* the same author's *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 149, and p. 157, for an engraving of the inscription.

[2] N. xxii.

[3] *St. Peter in Rome*, pp. 201 f. and 365 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cement, and this seems to have been the course that was adopted."

As a last word on the subject, it may be added that if either of the sacred bodies had really been destroyed, the fact could scarcely have failed to have been categorically stated.[1]

Despite the unfortunate final issue of this inroad to the Saracens, it had taught them that an attack on Rome was feasible. In the following reign we shall see them putting this lesson into practice. Considering the sensation it made, it might be thought that this attempt on the centre of Christendom, on the source of Western civilisation, would have sufficed, in view of their common danger, to have at once united in arms all the various peoples of Europe. But no! The rulers of the nations went on as before, selfishly seeking their own personal ends; and the people under them continued as hitherto to be oppressed not only by them, but by the Normans, the Slavs, and the Saracens. On the Romans, however, this event, which, as we learn from the biographer of Leo IV., struck them with the most profound sorrow and at the same time with a well-founded alarm and consternation, had a very useful effect. For a time, at least, it made them thoroughly loyal subjects of the Pope, to whom both nobles and people looked not in vain for comfort and support during the reign of the active and courageous Leo IV.

To this day memorials of this or some other ninth century Saracen raid in the Roman territory are still dug

[1] Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 89 n., says: "It is remarkable that the *Lib. Pontificalis* dismisses the event in a few words." As a matter of fact, the event, which is not mentioned *at all* in the ordinary texts of the *life* of Sergius, is, as we have seen, treated of at considerable length in the Farnesian edition of his *life*, and is spoken of with sorrow over and over again in the *life* of Leo IV., which seems to have been written by the same author as the *life* of Sergius.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

up in the shape of "daggers and poniards with curved blades of Oriental make"[1]; and as further evidence of the same fact, high up among the clouds, on a mountain over 2600 feet above the sea level, is perched a village, with the distinctive name of Saracinesco, and with inhabitants whose names proclaim their Eastern origin.[2]

Aquileia and Grado, 846 (?).

Death, hastened no doubt by the untoward event we have been discussing, prevented Sergius from carrying into execution an attempt he was making to bring to an end the perennial dispute between the bishops of Aquileia and Grado. He had summoned to Rome, by the feast of St. Martin (November 11), both Andrew of Aquileia, the successor of Maxentius, and Venerius of Grado. But afterwards changing his mind, he wrote to order them not to proceed with their dispute, till he had succeeded in arranging with the emperor Lothaire for the holding of a 'general synod,' at which they would have to appear before their sovereign. He evidently saw that it would require the physical force of the secular arm to enforce the carrying out of any ecclesiastical decision relative to the respective rights of such important individuals as the 'patriarchs' of Grado and Aquileia. With his death, the negotiations he had opened with the emperor on this matter fell through.[3]

Death of Sergius, 847. His building operations.

Short as was the reign of Sergius II.—for he died suddenly on January 27, 847[4]—he or his brother managed

[1] Lanciani, *Destruction of Ancient Rome*, p. 137.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 138, who cites Almansorre for El Mansour.

[3] Dandolo, *in Chron.*, viii. c. 4, n. 22; *M. G. Epp.*, v. 585.

[4] He was buried in St. Peter's, in the chapel of SS. Sixtus and Fabian, as we are informed by his epitaph, which was found there near the altar of S. Sixtus. Either this epitaph follows the law of its kind and lies, or the Farnesian edition of the *L. P.* is a libel; for it sets forth that he was the lover of his people and the poor, a good shepherd, the hope of his country, the glory of the world, and obedient to the law of God. While favouring the Roman nobility by word and

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to execute many important works for the further utility or ornamentation of the city or its neighbourhood. Like many of his predecessors, he turned his attention to the aqueducts and to the Lateran. Built about B.C. 150, the Marcian aqueduct brought to Rome the waters 'cold and pure' from springs in the neighbourhood of Subiaco, over thirty-five miles away. For most of its course it ran underground, but when within six or seven miles from the city it was supported on *peperino* arches, the most massive of any which supported the aqueducts of Rome. Many of them are to this day in a good state of preservation. A branch from it, under the name of Aqua Jovia, was constructed by Diocletian to supply his baths. It entered Rome near the Porta Appia (S. Sebastiano), and struck the Tiber near the *Schola Græca* (S. Maria in Cosmedin).[1] This aqueduct, repaired by Hadrian, but now for several years almost in ruins, was again put into good working order by Sergius, and made to supply "nearly the whole city."[2]

deed, he governed the church like St. Leo or Pope Damasus. For the loss of so great a pastor we must strike our breasts.

"Sergius en junior præsul et plebis amator
Hoc tegitur tumulo qui bene pavit oves.
Spes patriæ mundique decus, moderator opimus,
Divinis monitis non fuit ille piger.
Romanos proceres non tantum famine verbi
Rebus et humanis nocte dieque favens.
. . . . . .
Jamjam pro tanto tundamus pectora pugnis
Pastore amisso, vivat ut axe poli.
Nectitur ecce piis Faviano et corpore Xisto
Præsulibus, quorum spiritus astra micant.'

Ap. *L. P.*, ii. 105.

[1] "Inde ad portam Appiam; ibi forma Jobia quæ venit de marsia et currit usque ad ripam." *Itiner. Einsied.*, ed. Lanciani (Rome, 1891), p. 8. *Cf.* p. 82. The water from the sources of the Marcia is now (under the name of Aqua Pia) brought to Rome in pipes. *Cf.* Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, *passim*, and pp. lviii. and 71; *L. P.*, ii. 168; Murray's *Rome*, p. 386.

[2] *L. P.*, n. xxi. *Cf.* vol. i., pt. ii., p. 483 of this work.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

In the very beginning of his pontificate he began to improve the Lateran basilica. He enlarged its sanctuary after plans of his own (*proprio digito designans*), decorating it with beautiful columns of carved marble, made beneath its altar a *confession* decorated with plates of silver-gilt, in which with his own hands he placed relics of saints, and converted the closed narthex in front of the doors of the basilica into an open portico.[1]

Close to the Lateran, in the Via Merulana, there was situated the 'Schola Cantorum,' which, at one time called the Orphanage (Orphanotrophium), was ever a subject of great care to the popes. Founded by Gregory the Great,[2] and ruled seemingly by a primicerius,[3] it was at this period an institution for the training of young clerics.[4] But when Sergius became Pope it was in a very ruinous condition. He completely restored it, and gave useful presents to its chapel, dedicated to St. Stephen, the protomartyr. Still standing in the twelfth century, it is catalogued as destroyed in the fourteenth.[5]

Those who desire to know about the work accomplished by Sergius for churches outside the city, and about the numerous and valuable gifts[6] which he presented to various basilicas, must consult the *Book of the Popes*. But the reader should note how little all this record of good and useful work tallies with the unrestrained outburst of the *Farnesian* biographer.

[1] *Ib.*, n. xix.
[2] John, the deacon, *in vit. Greg.*, ii. 6.
[3] *Cf. Reg. Subl.*, no. 112.
[4] See vol. i., pt. ii., p. 103 of this work.
[5] *L. P.*, n. xxiv., and ii. p. 102, n. 18.
[6] We have a record of one of the presents which he obtained himself. In the first year of his pontificate he received from the famous Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda, of whom we shall hear more, and who is described in the annals as a "philosopher (*sophista*) and as a poet second to none," a beautifully illuminated volume, containing a poem on the "Holy Cross of Christ," that it might be offered to St. Peter through the Pope. *Annal. Fuld.*, an. 844.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Coins of Sergius.

The silver denarii of this Pope which are extant bear on the obverse Ser. P. or Sergi and Scs. Petrus, and on the reverse Hlotharius Ip.; or Imp. Pius. The third one given by Cinagli is perhaps[1] a coin of Sergius III. (904–911) and not of Sergius II. For it bears on the reverse 'Lodovicus' Ip. Pius. Now as Louis I. died in 840, and Sergius II. was not Pope till 844, no emperor Louis was contemporary with Sergius II., for Louis II. was not associated to the empire by his father Lothaire till 849, two years after the death of Sergius II. But Louis, who had been king of Provence from the year 890, was crowned emperor (February 12, 901); and though he was seized and blinded by his rival Berenger (July 905), and sent back to Provence, charters, etc., were dated by the years of his rule as emperor till Berenger was crowned emperor by John X. (December 25, 915). This, then, is the Louis, the third emperor that bore that name, and known as the Blind, who was the emperor contemporary with Sergius III.; and hence to him, and not to Sergius II., should Cinagli's third coin be attributed.

[1] The recognised coins of Sergius III. are, however, different in type to the one in question, which is certainly like the other acknowledged pieces of Sergius II. This and other reasons induce Promis (p. 59) to assign this coin to Sergius II., despite the above-named difficulty. On the other hand, no two of the coins of Sergius III. are quite alike, and there are at least four different types among them. Why not, then, a fifth with *Pius*?

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

S. LEO IV.

A.D. 847–855.

Sources.—Our chief authority is the biography in the *L. P.*, obviously the work of a contemporary in the strictest sense; and, though indeed mostly taken up with an interminable roll of Leo's gifts to different churches, rather fuller than usual, occupying about twenty-eight quarto pages altogether. Its author speaks of what he has written "veraci testimonio, certisque schematibus," and seems to have penned part of his work before Leo's death.

We have also a few notices of Leo IV. in the annals and letters of Hincmar, cited for Sergius II., etc. For the visit of our own King Alfred to Rome as a youth there are the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and such later chroniclers as Sprott, etc.

The letters of Leo consist for the most part of mere fragments without dates, of which it is not possible to make very much. These fragments[1] were originally culled from the register of Leo, now unhappily lost, by some of the early canonists—*e.g.* by Ivo of Chartres, who lived in the second half of the eleventh century (†1115), and by Gratian, who lived in the first part of the twelfth century. They may be read ap. *P. L.*, tt. 115 and 129. Four additional fragments have been published by Lowenfeld *Epp. Pont. Rom. ined.*, Lips. 1885. *Cf.* also *M. G. Epp.*, v. 585 ff.

Works.—*Acta SS. Boll.*, July 17, iv., pp. 302, 308–326. There are two small works in Italian on this Pope which I have not seen: *Comment. di S. Leo IV.*, Roma, Contedini, 1824, and

[1] Ap. Jaffé, *Regesta.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Di S. Leo IV., fondatore della città Leonina (which is the rione di Borgo), Roma, 1768. On *The Roman Sacring of King Alfred*, see an article by Father Thurston in *The Month*, October 1901.

EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	EMPERORS OF THE WEST.
Michael II. (the Stammerer), 820–829.	Louis the Pious, 814–840.
Theophilus, 829–842.	Lothaire I., 823–855.
Theodora and Michael III., 842–856.	

Early life of Leo.

THE new Pope whose name, through the Leonine city, was to be for ever indelibly connected with the Eternal City, was a Roman, and the son of one Radoald, or Radwald, a name which suggests, if it does not prove, a Lombard extraction. Following in the footsteps of his biographer, we have to write of him that he was distinguished for his patience and humility, that he was generous, holy, and kind; a lover of justice, and a benign ruler; a man in whose breast was "the wisdom of the serpent and the simplicity of the dove." He was a lover of good men, the comfort of the poor, and a despiser of himself. The deeds which Leo performed dispose us to believe that in his case, at any rate, these words of his biographer were neither merely idle nor contrary to fact. They prove him, at least, a man of exceptional energy and courage, and as possessed of remarkable powers of organisation and magnificent ideas.

For his education his parents sent him 'to the monastery of Blessed Martin,' near St. Peter's, a monastery which, after he became Pope, Leo rebuilt on a grander scale than before.[1] There not only did he advance in learning, but

[1] *L. P.*, n. xcviii. *Cf.* Jaffé, 2653 (1990) for his confirmation of its possessions. He decorated it with such beautiful frescos that "they are admired to this day," says his biographer. From an inscription

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

his pious behaviour, "not like that of a boy, but of a perfect monk," disposed even his elders to a more devout service of God. Moved by all he heard of the youth's virtues, Gregory IV. brought him to the Lateran, and made him a subdeacon. This advance in life only made him more anxious to move forward in the service of God. By Sergius he was made cardinal priest of the Church of the 'Quatuor Coronatorum,' on a spur of the Cœlian Hill.

The church of the *Quatuor Coronati.*

When, from the charge of this basilica, Leo was called to govern the whole Church of God, he did not forget it. He not only rebuilt it on a larger scale and in a more beautiful style, but was never tired of making presents to it.[1] Leo IV. was one of the popes whose work, while it preserved many of the relics of the saints, hastened the abandonment and utter forgetfulness of the catacombs which took place in this century. He brought into the city many bodies of the Saints, and among others those of the four martyred soldiers, the *Quatuor Coronati*, which he discovered after diligent search.[2] These and many others he deposited beneath the altar of his new basilica. In the present church there are two inscriptions dealing with this translation of relics. One is of the year 1111, and belongs to the pontificate of Paschal II. The other merely reproduces the list of relics given in the *Liber Pontificalis*,

on the mosaic of the apse (now destroyed), it appears that Leo completed the work begun by Sergius:

"Perfecit (Leo) sollers melius quam ante manebat
Atque pia totam pictura ornavit honeste;
Cœnobiumque sacrum statuit monachosque locavit
Qui Domino assiduas valeant persolvere laudes,
Talibus ut donis cælestia scandere possit
Regna," etc.

L. P., ii. p. 139.

[1] *Ib.*, n. xli., etc.

[2] *Ib.*; *cf.* Marucchi, *Basiliques*, p. 223.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and is also posterior to it. Though the work of Leo was almost entirely destroyed by Robert Guiscard (1084), his *confession* was left untouched by him and by the restoration of Paschal. In it are still to be found in urns, which date only from the days of the latter Pontiff, the relics of the martyrs. In the course of the centuries they were again lost and again found, as is set forth by yet another inscription of the time of Urban VIII. (1624), and now to be read at the base of the sanctuary arch on the right.

Elected Pope.

The details of Leo's election, which we have from his biographer, show us the panic into which the appearance of the Saracens had thrown the inhabitants of Rome. He says that the catastrophe had completely broken the spirit of the people; and that, what with the sudden death of Sergius, and what with the devastation caused by the infidels not only in the churches of the apostles, but "in all the territories of the Romans," they thought that they could not themselves avoid the danger of death. Their danger made "all the Roman nobility,"[1] cleric and lay, really anxious to find one "who could rule so holy and inviolable a place with the fear of God." Hence, even before Sergius had been buried, the minds of all were directed towards Leo.

With one accord all betook themselves to his titular church, and, though much against his will, carried him in triumph to the Lateran palace, and, "in accordance with ancient custom," kissed his feet. But no sooner was the first exciting joy of the election over than the Romans felt they were between Scylla and Charybdis. On the one hand the barbarous 'protest' made by the young king

[1] "Romani proceres." *Ib.*, n. 5. The word *proceres* in the *L. P.* often refers simply to the superior clergy, and sometimes to the lay nobility. Here I have supposed the word to refer to the dignitaries of *both* Church and State.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Louis, in his father's name, in the reign of Sergius, showed them that it would not be safe "to consecrate the future pontiff without the imperial [1] assent," and on the other hand they feared for the safety of the city. However, after waiting for some time, Leo was consecrated (April 10, 847), "without the consent of the Prince." [2] Even after thus waiting for over two months for an approval from Lothaire, which for some cause did not come, the Romans, in order to avoid complications, took care to state that in this their conduct they meant to "preserve the fidelity and honour which, after God, they owed to the emperor." It is most likely that to negotiations in connection with this consecration, we must refer a fragment of a letter of Leo to the emperors Lothaire and Louis II. (this latter was crowned emperor in 850), preserved by Ivo. In this fragment Leo declares that it has been solemnly agreed between them and himself that "the election [3] and consecration of one who is to be Pope must only be performed with due regard to justice and the canon law." By this he no doubt intended to express his adhesion to the 'constitution' of Eugenius II.

Leo's work for the city.

As the one object of Leo's life was to oppose the depradations of the Saracens, our account of the work of his pontificate may well begin with a narrative of what he accomplished in this direction. Towards the close of the

[1] "Sine imperiali non audebant auctoritate futurum consecrare pontificem." *L. P.*

[2] "Eum sine permissu Principis Præsulem consecraverunt, fidem quoque illius sive honorem post Deum per omnia, et in omnibus conservantes." *Ib.* It must be confessed that the language of the biographer of Leo scarcely tallies with the statement in certain MSS. of the life of Sergius, that after his death the See was vacant for two months fifteen days. There is either some mistake in these MSS. of the *L. P.* in the matter of the length of the vacancy, which we think more likely, or it must be as stated in the text.

[3] "Statutum est quod electio et consecratio futuri Romani Pontificis non nisi juste et canonice fieri debeat." Jaffé, 2652 (2006).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

year[1] 848, Leo began the work of putting the walls of the city into a thorough state of repair. Constantly going around on horseback or on foot, he urged on the work. Walls, towers, and gates were strengthened or renewed. No less than fifteen of the great towers were entirely rebuilt. To still further add to the defences of the city, the Pope built two strong towers, one on each bank of the Tiber, where it leaves the city near the 'Gate of Portus,' and provided them with chains for throwing across the river. So that whereas before by this approach "not only ships but even men could effect an entrance into the city, now very little boats will scarcely be able to enter," notes the biographer. The conclusion of this important work meant 'salvation for the city.'

The same year[2] that the general repairing of the city walls was begun, Leo resolved on and started a work of even greater magnitude. The sacking of St. Peter's by the 'wicked and malevolent' Saracens had filled all Rome with the greatest grief, and a second and worse visitation of the pirates was feared. The Pope therefore determined to surround St. Peter's and the Vatican hill with a wall. But, as this was a great undertaking, he first wrote for advice[3] and help to the emperor, with whom he seems always to have lived on good terms. Lothaire not only gladly urged the Pope to undertake the work with all possible despatch, but, along with his brothers, sent him no small sum of money. This he did the more readily for the reason that the idea of surrounding the Vatican hill with a wall appears to have originated with him. Before the

The Leonine city, 848–852.

[1] "Duodecima instante indictione." *L. P.*

[2] "Secundo Præsulatus illius anno præfata civitas (Leonina) ædificandi sumpsit exordium, et in sexto . . . . consummata." *Ib.*

[3] "Consilium sumpsit (Leo) ut . . . . indicaret Augusto, quatenus per illius adjutorium atque consilium, ... desideratum opus ad effectum posset perducere." *Ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

death of Sergius, he had issued a Capitulary (November or December) bewailing the fact that the Roman Church itself, which is the head of Christianity (*capud christianitatis*), should have been delivered into the hands of the infidels, and in particular regretting the destruction wrought that year (*hoc anno*) in St. Peter's by the pagans, and expressing his great desire of having the Church restored and placed out of harm's way for the future. He directs the Pope to enclose St. Peter's with a wall, and proclaims his wish that money should be sent to Rome for the purpose from every part of his kingdom, "that so great a work, which was for the glory of all, should be completed with the help of all." The need of money had to be made known by the bishops in the churches throughout the empire, "for it is only right that sons should honour their mother, and, as far as they can, protect and defend her." At the same time he ordered troops from the various parts of the empire to march in an orderly manner (*sine prædatione christiani populi vadant*) to the assistance of Louis and his Italians against the Saracens. The Pope and the duke of the Venetians are also instructed to help.[1]

Next, with "the advice of all his counsellors (*fideles*)," Leo decided that all the towns of his dominions (at least of the duchy of Rome), all the *public domains* (*massæ publicæ*, the *domus cultæ* of the Roman Church) and all the monasteries, should bear their share of the burden of the work. And extant inscriptions[2] prove that, just as the Roman wall from the Tyne to the Solway was built

[1] *Cf.* Hlotharii, *Capit.*, ap. Boretius, ii. 65. "Mandamus similiter Apostolico et Petro Venæciarum duci, ut adjutorium ex Pentapoli et Venecia navali expedicione faciant ad opprimendos in Benevento Saracenos."

[2] *Eg.* "Civitas Leonina. ✠ Temporib. Dom. Leonis Q. P.P. hanc paginê et duas turres Saltisine militia construxit." The *militia Saltisine* doubtless indicates the militia of the *domus culta Saltisina*, *L. P.*, ii. 137, n. 47, which is on the road to Ardea, fifteen miles from Rome.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in sections by different companies of the Roman forces, so a certain length of wall and a certain number of towers were built by the different agricultural colonies (*domus cultæ*) of the Roman Church.

During the four years the building was in progress, neither cold, wind, nor rain could keep the Pope away from unceasingly urging on and superintending the work in all directions. Leo III. had made a commencement of enclosing the Vatican, but the very foundations which he had made had disappeared. The work, then, of including the Vatican within fortifications was wholly that of Leo IV., and it was from him that the new enclosure, "a masterpiece of medieval military engineering," was called the Leonine city. According to Gregorovius[1] and Lanciani, the walls of the new *city* were formed of layers of tufa and tiles, were twelve feet thick and nearly forty feet in height, and were defended by forty-four towers. Two of these round towers, which protected "the most exposed angles, ... are still in existence, and form a conspicuous landmark in the Vatican landscape." One of them, "which stands at a height of 187 feet above the sea . . . . is now used as an observatory."

Where the wall runs along the level, it "has two galleries, one above the other. The lower gallery is supported by open arcades facing within. . . . They were walled up in the fifteenth century by Pope Borgia, and the gallery itself was transformed into a secret passage—the famous Corridojo di Castello—connecting the palace of the Vatican with the fortress of S. Angelo. To this corridor many popes and cardinals have been indebted for escape from death or servitude."[2]

[1] *Rome*, iii. 97.

[2] Lanciani, *Destruction*, p. 133. It would seem that only in that part of the wall included in the Vatican gardens can the original work of Leo IV. be studied. *Cf.* Lauer, *Le poème de la "Destruc. de Rome,"* p. 350 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Of the three gates which led into the new city, the most important, the one through which the emperors entered, was the gate of St. Peregrinus, so called because near the church of that name. But the most interesting, at least to us, is the one which, from the name given to it by our countrymen, was called the Postern[1] gate of the Saxons, as it stood in the 'school' or quarter of the Anglo-Saxons. Various inscriptions set forth the builder and the date of the building of the new city. Over the principal gate was inscribed :

"Qui venis ac vadis decus hoc adtende viator,
Quod Quartus struxit nunc Leo Papa libens.

. . . . . .

Cæsaris invicti quod cernis iste Holothari
Præsul tantum [ovans] tempore gessit opus.

. . . . . .

Roma, caput orbis, splendor, spes, aurea Roma,
Præsulis ut monstrat en labor alma tui."[2]

Dedication of the new city, 852.

When the work was at length concluded, the walls were with great ceremony blessed by the Pope. Round the walls in solemn procession, chanting litanies, psalms, and hymns, went all the different orders of the clergy, barefoot and with ashes on their heads. At each of the three gates the procession halted, and the Pope prayed that Our Lord, through the intercession of the saints and angels, would preserve the city safe for ever from the attacks of its enemies. The *Book of the Popes* gives the three prayers. The one which was offered up at the "Postern of the Saxons" ran as follows: "Grant, we beseech Thee, O almighty and merciful God, that crying to Thee with all our hearts, we may, through the intercession of Blessed Peter, Apostle, obtain Thy merciful forgiveness; and we unceasingly implore Thy great clemency to grant that this

[1] Porta "quæ ex eorum vocabulo Saxonum posterula appellatur." *L. P.*
[2] *L. P.*, ii. 138.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

city, which I, Thy servant, Leo IV., bishop, have by Thy help newly dedicated, may be ever preserved intact. Through Our Lord Jesus Christ."

After the circuit of the walls had been performed, the clergy and the nobles went to St. Peter's to assist at a Mass sung by the Pope for the safety of the people and the city. After the Mass was over, Leo not only made presents to the nobles of gold, silver, and silk stuffs; but, in fulfilment of a vow, gave great largesses to all the inhabitants of the Leonine city, whether native or foreign.[1]

Saracens make another descent, 849.

The Pope had not been left to carry out all these great works in peace. In fact, they had not been long begun when the Saracens gathered[2] together at 'Totarum, near Sardinia'—probably one of the small islands off its east coast. Fortunately this assembling of a powerful fleet by the infidels caused others, as well as the Romans, to fear for themselves. The great maritime cities of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, still nominally recognising the emperor at Constantinople, but for a long time practically independent, joined their fleets, and sent word to the Pope that they were coming to his help against the common foe. The arrival of this unexpected fleet at the mouth of the Tiber caused quite a flutter at Rome. In those days, when almost every man's hand was against his neighbour's, the first thought which came into the minds of the Romans was one of anxiety to know whether the Greeks had really come to help them, or to take advantage of their troubles and oppress them. Leo sent to ask some of their commanders to come and explain their intentions. Among others there went to Rome Cæsarius, the admiral of the combined fleet, who had inflicted some loss on the Saracens

[1] All direct from the *L. P.* In altar decorations which he offered to St. Peter's, the Pope was represented offering the city he had built to Our Lord. *Ib.*

[2] "Duodecima indictione vigente" (849). *Ib.*, n. xlviii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

after their first attempt on Rome. Abundantly satisfied with his assurances, Leo resolved to co-operate with him. With a large[1] force of Romans he marched to Ostia, where he received the Neapolitans with every sign of welcome. They, on their part, overjoyed to see the Pope, humbly kissed his feet, and gave thanks to God for giving them such a Pontiff.[2] "That they might become the better victors over the sons of Belial, they earnestly begged that from his sacred hands they might receive the Body of the Lord." Accordingly, in the Church of Blessed Aurea, Leo sang Mass, at which all communicated, and at which he poured forth ardent prayers to God to give victory to His people.

Saracens defeated at Ostia.

On the following day the Pope returned to Rome and the fleet of the Saracens appeared in sight. The allied fleets attacked the enemy with vigour. But a great wind,[3] "which God produced from his treasury," and which arose in the midst of the engagement, separated the fleets, and completely destroyed that of the Saracens. Their ships were dashed to pieces on the shore, and their crews were either drowned, put to the sword, or taken prisoners. Of these latter a considerable number were hanged by the Romans at Ostia as pirates. The rest were brought to Rome and made to help at the work of building the fortifications which was then going on.[4]

[1] "Cum magno armatorum procinctu." *L. P.*, n. l.

[2] "Gratiasque altithrono retulerunt, qui ad se confortandos talem dirigere decrevit Antistitem." *Ib.* The whole of this animated description is taken from the account which Leo's biographer, evidently an eye-witness, has left us.

[3] The hand of a contemporary is seen in the remark in the *L. P.* connected with this wind. "Ventus, qualem quis *his temporibus* meminisse non valeat."

[4] *Ib.*, n. liv. An inscription on Leo's wall over the gate by the castle of St. Angelo also testifies to the fact that the Saracen prisoners worked at it. "Plures (Saraceni) ferro vinctos in hoc tam per honesto opere diversos perferre labores coegerunt (Romani)."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Gibbon[1] concurs with Voltaire in singing the praises of Leo IV. for saving Rome from the Saracens, and both say of him that "he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman Forum." And if this victory of the Pope at Ostia inspired the pen of the writer, it furnished Raphael with a subject for one of the frescos, illustrative of the triumphs of the Church, which he designed for what are now known as his *Stanze* in the Vatican. With, however, the possible exception of the faces of the Pope and his attendants, faces which are portraits of Leo X. and of members of his court, the fresco of the victory of Leo IV. in the so-called *stanza dell' Incendio* is the work of Giovanni da Udine.

Portus rebuilt.

No sooner had Leo finished fortifying the Vatican hill than he began to consider what was the next best thing to do to guard against the attacks of the Saracens. Then, reflecting that his predecessor Gregory IV. had done something to defend the mouth of the Tiber by rebuilding Ostia on its southern bank, he resolved to rebuild Portus on its northern shores. Its walls were accordingly once again rendered serviceable; new gates were made, and, where necessary, new buildings erected.

It is given to Corsicans, 852.

No sooner were these new structures completed than, to the great joy of the Pope, a sturdy body of men offered themselves to his hands to take possession of his new city. A band of Corsicans, whom the ravages of the Saracens had driven into exile from their native land, presented themselves to Leo, and, in return for protection, offered[2] to serve him and his successors for ever. He received them with the greatest kindness, and told them that, if they

[1] *Decline and Fall*, c. 52.

[2] "Se habitaturos cunctis diebus in suo, successorumque Pontificum obsequio, ac servitio declararunt." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

would take up their abode in his new city, he would give them vineyards, plough-lands and meadow-lands, so that they would want for nothing. Further, till by their labour they were able to provide for their wants, he promised them horses and cattle and stock of all kinds, if they would do as they had agreed. The grateful Corsicans professed their readiness 'to live and die' in the place appointed for them. Accordingly a formal[1] charter was drawn up, setting forth that, in virtue of the concession made them by the emperors Lothaire and Louis (the latter had been crowned emperor 850) and by the Pope, what had been granted them should be theirs "as long as they remained in all things obedient and faithful to the prelates of the Holy See and the Roman people."

Horta and Ameria re-fortified.

In the interior of the states of the Church, long peace had caused some of the cities to be very careless about looking to their fortifications. Among these the Tuscan cities of Horta and Ameria seem to have been the most apathetic. Fearing lest the Saracens might be more successful another time, and penetrate further into the interior, as they were doing in Southern Italy, Leo stirred up the inhabitants of these cities to put their defensive works in thorough repair.

Centumcellæ rebuilt, 854.

There was yet another city, the state of which very much distressed the good Pope, and that was Centumcellæ,

[1] "Pontificale eis, quod secundo promiserat (ob serenissimorum Lotharii et Ludovici majorum Imperatorum, suamque simul mercedem, perpetuamque memoriam) præceptum emisit." *Ib.* There is extant a fragment of a letter of the Pope to the emperor Louis II., in which it is stated that rumours of a descent of the Saracens on Portus—perhaps while it was being rebuilt—caused the courageous Pontiff to assemble his forces and march down there, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 585. For his military needs we find him begging the *Judex* of Sardinia to send him "Sardos sive pueros sive adultos ac juvenes cum armis qui nobis sibi quotidiana jussa possint explere." Ep. 17, ap. *ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which Trajan had made of importance by the harbour which he built there. As we have already seen, it was sacked (813) by the Moors even during the lifetime of Charlemagne himself. For forty years[1] its walls had remained dismantled, and the miserable remnant of its inhabitants led a wretched life among the mountains, always in fear of the Saracens. Leo, who carried out to perfection the sage recommendation of praying as though all depended on God, and working as though all depended on oneself, earnestly prayed to God to show him where it would be best for him to rebuild the city, so as to afford the greatest security for the people. At the same time he went down to the neighbourhood, and made a most careful examination of the country. At first the want of water made it difficult for him to fix on a suitable site. But later on he found a most desirable spot, strong by nature, and abundantly supplied with water, twelve miles from the old Centumcellæ. His biographer goes on to inform us that by the divine mercy the Pope planned out the new city in a dream. One night he seemed to be at the place he had fixed upon for the new city, and there to a certain Peter, 'the master of the soldiers,' he pointed out where he must place the churches, and, from the nature of the ground, no more than two gates. Next morning the 'magister militum' was called before the Pope, and a large sum of silver mancuses given him to aid the people to build the new city. Under the hand of the energetic Pontiff a fresh town sprang into being, and, after his name, was known as Leopolis. It was solemnly blessed, with similar ceremonies to those used in blessing the Leonine city "in the eighth year of Leo's pontificate, the second indiction (854)." Among the presents he made to the

[1] "Per quadraginta annos muris diruta, et habitatore proprio destituta manebat." *L. P.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

churches of his new city are noted 'seven[1] Catholic codices,' among which were an antiphonary, a book of the Gospels, a psalter, etc.

Other restorations. St. Peter's.

All the time that this building of cities was going on, Leo was rebuilding, redecorating, and making presents to churches not only in Rome, but in other parts of his dominions, and especially to those which had been damaged by the Saracens. Incredible were the sums of money he expended on these works, particularly in refurnishing St. Peter's,[2] to which of course he devoted the most concern. Though the body of the Apostle himself had not been interfered with,[3] his basilica had been completely stripped of its priceless ornaments, the very altar[4] over his confession had been broken, and the silver doors of the church stripped of their plates. To repair the damage done was

[1] "Codices Catholicos numero septem." *P. L.* "Leopolis" did not succeed as a town. Doubtless longing for the advantages of the sea, despite its risks, the people returned, at what time exactly is not known, to the old site, which thence took the name of 'Civitas Vetus' (Civita Vecchia). Remains of Leo's work are still to be seen among the vineyards at Circello, between C. Vecchia and Corneto.

[2] Among the ornamentations of St. Peter were portraits in mosaic or enamelled metal, not only of the Pope, but of his "special son, the lord emperor Lothaire." *L. P.*

[3] Hence the *L. P.* makes frequent mention of the *body* of S. Peter in Leo's biography, *e.g.* nn. xxiv. and cv., where we read of the altar "quod supra sanctissimum b. Petri Ap. corpus consistit." *Cf.* n. xcvi. for a similar notice about the body of St. Paul. Barnes (*St. Peter in Rome*, p. 299 ff.) and Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 149) give the following as a decisive proof that the relics of St. Peter were not destroyed. The *L. P.* relates that Constantine placed on the lid of the coffin of St. Peter a great cross of pure gold. In the year 1594, whilst certain alterations were being made in the neighbourhood of the *confession*, the architect in charge of the work accidentally effected an opening through which he could see the said cross and the coffin of the saint. Pope Clement VIII. was instantly on the spot, saw the cross through the aperture, and ordered it to be cemented up in his presence. If the Saracens failed to find Constantine's cross, they did not discover the tomb of the Apostle.

[4] Prudent., *Annal.*, 846.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

one of the constant (*cotidie*) aims of Leo IV.[1] "Inasmuch as he had the care of all the churches, it grieved him to the heart to see the mischief wrought by the Saracens, and the distress which the ruin caused to the faithful who came from all parts to pray at the Apostle's tomb."[2] Consistently with making as little change as possible in the arrangements of the *confession*,[3] and as far as his means would allow, he worked wonders in the matter of effecting a thorough renovation. The altar, indeed, is said to have been made more magnificent than before. Once again the shrine became resplendent with the precious metals. Once more was the basilica the possessor of splendid candelabra, hangings, and church furniture generally.[4] Its silver gates were made even more beautiful than they were before they had been robbed 'by the Saracen breed.'[5] The little basilica of St. Andrew which adjoined the sacristy of St. Peter's was provided with a campanile and bells.[6] But to make good all that had been devastated was "a task far beyond the powers of a single man to accomplish, and the shrine of St. Peter never again attained to anything like its former glory."[7]

The Lateran Palace.

Besides, Leo had other places to repair as well as St. Peter's. "For it was his eager desire to rebuild all the *places of the saints* which had been destroyed."[8] Among other buildings repaired and beautified by him was the Lateran palace. He completed the erection of the marble seats which adorned its entrance, and renewed some of the additions which Leo III. had made to it. During the pontificate of Paschal I., there had been stolen[9] the gold

[1] *L. P.*, nn. xiii., xiv. [2] *Ib.*, n. xxxi. ff.
[3] *Cf.* Barnes, *ib.*, p. 365 ff.
[4] Many of the articles bore Leo's name. *L. P.*, nn. xliii., lvi., lxvi. ff.
[5] *Ib.*, n. lxxxiv. *Cf. ib.*, i. p. 324, n. 2.
[6] *Ib.*, n. lv. Barnes, *l. c.*, p. 267.
[7] Barnes, *l. c.*, p. 202. [8] *L. P.*, n. xxv. [9] *Ib.*, n. xvii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cross set with jewels which Charlemagne, "Emperor of the Franks and Romans," had presented to the Lateran basilica in the time of Leo III.[1] It was the one carried before the popes during the procession of the litanies. Leo caused another similar one to be made and used for the old purpose. For we are assured that he was always anxious about preserving old habits and customs; and as a further example of this tendency of his, we are given the fact that after he restored the triclinium of Leo III., he renewed the custom of the popes dining therein on Christmas Day.[2]

Subiaco. Educated in a monastery, he did not forget the interests of monks when he became Pope. Very numerous were the valuable presents he made to different monasteries, some of which he restored[3] and endowed even out of his own private property.[4] Among those which benefited by his generosity was the famous one on the site of the cave of St. Benedict at Subiaco.[5] To this abode of peace, destined to be the foster-mother of art,[6] situated on the side of a glorious gorge of the rushing, roaring Aniane, he is even said to have paid a visit to consecrate an altar.[7] At any rate the traveller who is fortunate enough to behold the frescos of the monastery of the *Sacro Speco* will see that its tradition counts him as one of its great patrons. He is one of the four popes whose frescos meet the eye in the entrance corridor; and among those in the upper

[1] *L. P.*, *in vit. L. III.*, n. xxv.

[2] *L. P.*, n. xvi. "De priscis vel antiquis sacri palatii usibus atque, ordinibus . . . . universas reducere . . . . avide conatus est."

[3] In one of those which he restored, he placed Greek monks. *Ib.*, n. xxx. and p. 136, n. 20.

[4] *Ib.*, with n. xxv.; *cf.* n. lviii., and p. 137, n. 38.

[5] *L. P.*, nn. xlvi. and lxv., and pp. 136, 7, nn. 33 and 42.

[6] See an excellent paper by Dr. Croke (Fribourg, Suisse, 1898) on *Architecture* (*Gothic*), *Painting and Printing* at Subiaco, in which he shows its monastery as the guide to Italy in those arts.

[7] *Chron. Sublac.*, ap. *R. I. S.*, xxiv. p. 930.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

chapel, painted perhaps by Pietro Cavallini, the master of Giotto,[1] there is one occupying the space above the rood-screen, which shows him enthroned, and having presented to him two members of the family of the Anicii.

Another great fire in the Anglo-Saxon quarter "in the very beginning of his pontificate," a fire the advance of which he stopped by making the sign of the cross, also helped to increase the building operations of Leo. But those who would know more of his work in stone must read the *Liber Pontificalis*. We will return to his dealings with men. The Borgo.

One of the most important events in his reign was the crowning of Lothaire's son Louis as emperor. That this happened in 850 we know from the annals of Prudentius of Troyes.[2] Some authors write that it took place on April 6th, but the month and day are not certain. As an account of the ceremony observed on the occasion of the coronation of an emperor at Rome in Carolingian times has come down[3] to us, it may not be out of place to give some notice of it here. For even if the *ordo* itself belongs to a somewhat later date, it will be clear from the extracts from contemporary authorities which we shall quote in the notes, that it represents, to all intents and purposes, exactly what took place in the year 850 at the coronation of Louis II. Crowns Louis emperor, 850.

The function began with the 'Consecration,' or anointing, and was continued by the first prayer: "Hear, O Lord,

[1] It does not appear certain whether these frescos belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth, or to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[2] Ad an. 850. Whilst Louis was in Rome, he assisted at a council in which Leo, in a dispute as to extent of jurisdiction between the bishops of Sienna and Arezzo, decided in favour of the former. Mansi, *Conc.*, xv. 27; Jaffé, *sub* 2604.

[3] The *Coronationis ordo* has been published from two codices by Martene (*Antiq. eccl. ritus.*, iii. 167), and after him by Watterich in his most valuable collection of the original *Lives of the Popes* (*Pont. Rom. Vitæ*, 2 vols., Lipsiæ, 1862). The latter ed. is the one used here.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

our prayers, and fit Thy servant to rule the empire, that through Thee he may begin to rule, and through Thee faithfully continue to rule." Then followed a longer prayer, wherein God is asked to bless "this Thy glorious servant," as He blessed the patriarchs of old, to grant that in his reign there might be health, peace, and dignity; to make him a most valiant protector of his empire, the comforter of the Church, a well-doer to high and low, and feared and loved by all; and to give him sons to succeed him, and eternal life hereafter.

Then the Pope placed on the head of the emperor a crown of gold, with the words[1]: "Receive the crown that God has destined for you; may you have, hold, and possess it; and, by the help of God, leave it to your sons after you for their honour." Then a prayer was offered up begging God to bless the emperor, and to give him prosperity in this life and the next. During the Mass that was afterwards said for the emperor, special prayers were intoned that he might reign by the power of God, and might overcome his enemies. The 'end' of the empire in the mind of the Church is plainly expressed in the prayer at the *Post-communion*: "O God, who hast prepared the Roman empire for the preaching of the Gospel of Thy eternal kingdom, give to Thy servant our emperor, the might of heaven, that the peace of the Church may not be troubled

[1] According to the ed. of Muratori, *R. I. S.*, ii., pt. ii., p. 42, Nigellus (*Poem.*, l. ii.), when treating of the coronation of the emperor Louis by Pope Stephen, sums up the ceremony thus:

"Unguine suffuso, hymnisque ex ordine dictis,
Cæsareo capiti mox decus (corona) imposuit."

And speaking (an. 865) of this very coronation of Louis, Nicholas I. (Ep. 79, ap. *P. L.*, t. 126, p. 914) makes mention of the reception of the sword (machæræ usum quem primum a Petri vicario contra infideles accepit); of the crowning (summi pontificis manu capiti superposito diademate); and of the anointing (imperium, quod cum benedictione et sacratissimi olei unctione, sedis apostolicæ præsule ministrante percepit).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

by any tempest of war." When the sword was presented to and girt on the emperor, the Pope said: "From the bishop's hands, which though unworthy have been consecrated in the stead and by the authority of the Holy Apostles, receive the sword, royally given to thee, and, by our blessing, divinely ordained for the defence of Holy Church. Be mindful of the words of the Psalmist: 'Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O thou most mighty!' (Ps. xliv. 4) —that by it you may exercise the might of justice." Then begin the *laudes*; or, to use the words of the rubric, when the Pope has finished the prayer, before the reader ascends the ambo or pulpit, two deacons or cantors give out certain versicles, to which the college of secretaries (*schola scriniorum*) makes answer as follows: "Graciously hear us, O Christ!" The college replies: "Life to our illustrious Lord, by God decreed our chief Bishop and Universal Pope!" This was to be thrice repeated. Then the cantors intoned: "O Saviour of the world!" and the chorus: "Do Thou help him!" The cantors: "Hear us, O Christ!" The chorus: "Life to our illustrious Lord, Augustus, crowned by God, great and pacific emperor!" To shorten this account, it may be added that 'Holy Mary,' 'St. Peter,' and 'St. Theodore' are next invoked to bestow their aid on the emperor's children, and on the army of the "Franks, Romans, and Germans" (*Theutonici*). The *laudes* concluded with various ejaculations in praise of Our Lord, such as: "Christ conquers!" "To Him alone be honour and glory!"

By some such ceremony as this was Louis II. proclaimed emperor of the Franks and of the Romans. Differing in this respect from the other Carolingian emperors who had gone before him, he was to reside in Italy for the twenty-five years of his reign, and was thus to be more in a position to show himself practically *Emperor of the Romans*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Before, however, temporarily dismissing him for the present from our thoughts, as he departs from Rome after thus receiving the imperial crown from the Pope, it may be well to observe here that, whatever disagreements may have arisen between Louis and the popes from time to time during his rule of a quarter of a century, he never lost his respect for Rome and the successors of the Apostles —a respect entertained, despite occasional outbreaks of temper, by all the Carolingian monarchs. And so in this very year (850) we find him legislating[1] for the safety of those journeying to Rome "for the sake of prayer," and for the proper honour, support, and means of transport to be given to the *missi*, not only of his father and himself, but also of the *Apostolicus* (Leo IV.).

King Alfred crowned at Rome, 853.

Three years after the coronation of Louis, Leo anointed another prince, and that no less a person than our own great king Alfred, the only one of our sovereigns who "received sacred unction in Rome at the hands of the Pope." The ravages of time have played such havoc with the sources of history, that, with the exception of the notice that Archbishop Ceolnoth received his pallium from Gregory IV., we have not found any fact of history connecting England with the popes in the records of many years. But in 853, with "an honourable escort[2] of nobles and commoners," Ethelwulf, the king of the West Saxons,

[1] *Capit.*, 212 and 213, ap. Boretius, ii. 84 f.

[2] Asser's *Life of Alfred, sub init.* Bishop Asser was contemporary with Alfred. The substantial genuineness of the *life* attributed to him seems now to be proved. *Cf. Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 853. All the Anglo-Saxon texts which mention the fact of Alfred's Roman sacring have, "he hine to cyninge gehalgode," *i.e.* Leo "hallowed him to king." (*Cf.* ed. Master of the Rolls, i. 122 ff.). *Cf.* the chron. of Ethelwerd (ad an. 853) and all our later writers. The account of this affair in Gregorovius (*Rome*, iii. 109) is all wrong. There is a fragment of a letter of this Pope apparently to Ceolnoth (ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 592), insisting on the observance of the dictates of the fathers.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

following the example so frequently set by the Carolingian monarchs, sent to Rome his favourite son Alfred, then a mere child, to receive the regal unction. Leo not only anointed him as king, but adopted him as his spiritual son by standing godfather to him at confirmation. Writing to Ethelwulf to tell him of what he had done, the Pope, in a fragment of one of his letters which we possess, speaks of having invested Alfred, as his spiritual son, with the customary "consular *girdle* (probably the *lorus*), honour and raiment (*ut mos est Romanis consulibus*), inasmuch as he had offered himself into his hands."[1]

Passing over the theory that nothing more was meant by all this than that Alfred became the Pope's godson in confirmation,[2] the object of Ethelwulf's action may be stated in the words of one of Alfred's modern biographers. "It is difficult to say," remarks Dr Pauli,[3] "what may have been his father's motive for this proceeding; we can only suppose that his veneration for the capital city of Christendom, and for the representative of Christ upon earth, made him hope to receive the same gifts from the Holy Father which the earlier popes had bestowed upon the sons of Pippin and Charlemagne—viz., their holy unction and benediction. He wished his favourite child, whom he secretly desired might succeed him on the throne, to receive, in the blessing of the bishop of Rome, a kind

[1] "Consulatus cingulo . . . . decoravimus, eo quod in nostris se tradidit manibus." Ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 602. I have written *cingulo* and not *cinguli*, as Thurston states that the former is the plain MS. reading. *Month*, October 1901, p. 339 n.

[2] For Thurston (*l. c.*) has completely annihilated it. The words of the contemporary authorities unmistakably point to a *regal* unction; and even if, as far as the actual anointing was concerned, there was only that employed in the sacrament of confirmation, all the circumstances show that the little Alfred was anointed as a king, and in return was commended in a particular manner to the Pope.

[3] *Alfred the Great*, p. 53.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

of prophetic authorisation of the succession." Whether these reflections of the learned German be just or not, and they are in complete harmony with the views of Freeman,[1] the visit of Alfred to Rome must have made a lasting impression for good on his youthful mind—an impression doubtless deepened by a second visit two years later, of which we shall speak under the reign of Benedict III.

Synod at Rome, 853.

At the close of this same year Leo held a synod at Rome (December 8, 853) of sixty-seven bishops.[2] Of these, four were sent by the emperors Lothaire and Louis, with whose concurrence the assembly was held. Forty-two canons were passed by this council. Thirty-eight of them renewed those of the Roman council of 826 under Eugenius II., and were for the most part concerned with the improvement of discipline and learning among the clergy. The council renewed for the fourth time a sentence of excommunication against Anastasius, cardinal of St. Marcellus, and declared him definitively suspended.

This severe action brings prominently before our notice one of the most remarkable figures that appeared on the stage of the Western world during the ninth century, a figure that looms the larger from being seen through the historical haze which hangs over the period. At one time we catch a glimpse of him hurrying along the path of the world's ambitions, now scheming for the papacy and now actually an antipope, again and again deposed and restored; and anon he was to be seen like a scholar, buried deep in books, writing histories and biographies and translating

[1] See his article on Alfred in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. "We may believe that the king, who had been marked out for kingship by a papal hallowing in his childhood, and who had come to the kingship of his people by what might seem so marked a course of destiny, may . . . . have held the kingly authority somewhat higher than the kings who had gone before him," etc.

[2] *L. P. Cf.* Hefele, *Concil.* v. 392.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

from the Greek. Then once more is he a man of action, librarian of the Roman Church and secretary of the Holy See. He was the Photius of the Latin Church.

The son of the haughty and covetous[1] Arsenius, sometime (855–868) bishop of Horta (Orta), often legate of the Holy See, and brother of the ambitious Eleutherius, the murderer of his would-be wife and mother-in-law,[2] his career shows that he was not untainted with some of the vices of his family. His erudition, or perhaps his family influence, attracted the attention of Leo IV., and he made him cardinal-priest of S. Marcellus in 848. But he soon saw cause to repent of his action, and Anastasius became to him an object of suspicion. He was thought, perhaps, to be either unduly attached to the imperial party or to be intriguing to secure the papacy. He was probably one of those "strenuous men, well acquainted with the powers exercised by the emperors of old" — *scientes antiquam imperatorum consuetudinem* — whom Louis, "anxious to subject all Italy to his sway," supported at Rome. Had it not been "for his reverence for the Blessed Apostles," he would, at their suggestion, have taken all authority in the Eternal City into his own hands.[3] Finding himself under a cloud, the cardinal fled from Rome to Aquileia, whence nothing could induce him to return to his duty at S. Marcellus.

Already, in 850, a council at Rome of seventy-five

[1] *Cf.* Hincmar, *Ann.*, ad ann. 865, 7; *Vita Gregor. I.*, l. iv. c. 50, by John, the Deacon; and Ep. 156, Nic. I., ap. *P. L.*, t. 119. See the account of the terrible death of Arsenius, ap. Hinc., *l. c.*, an. 868, and ap. an eleventh century document preserved at Monte Cassino, *Bib. Cas.*, iii. p. 139 f. The imperialist author of the pamphlet, *De imp. potest. in urbe Roma*, ap. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 965, would, on the contrary, make out that he was "sanctitate et scientia adornatum!" On his bishopric, *cf. L. P.*, ii. p. 149, n. 4.

[2] See *infra*, under Hadrian II.

[3] *Libellus de imp.*, *ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

bishops had excommunicated him for being absent for two years from his titular church without cause, and for neglecting to take any notice of repeated summonses to come and give an account of his conduct.[1] Then at Ravenna, where he had had an interview with the emperor Louis II., Leo had renewed (May 29, 853) the sentence, and once again at Rome (June 19, 853), with fifty-six bishops.[2] His subsequent life proved still further that Anastasius was a turbulent, disobedient spirit, and fully justified the strong measures which we find Leo taking against him—so frequently excommunicating him, and "all who might wish to afford him any help to obtain episcopal,"[3] or perhaps, rather, 'papal election.' Two years after this and we shall see Anastasius an antipope.

Peter, Hadrian, George and Gratian.

Several of the fragments of Leo's letters, if they do no more, reveal at least the fact that Anastasius was not the only rebellious spirit with whom he had to contend. It is quite possible, however, that several of the others belonged to the party of which he was the tool or the prime mover. Whether or not with the connivance of the imperial government, a considerable amount of oppression was being exercised in the papal territories in the north. One of the offenders, traditional it might almost be added,

[1] *Cf.* Hincmar, *Annal.*, ad an. 868, where, before the excommunication of Anastasius by Hadrian II., that by Leo is inserted. In that same place it is said of this 'Anastasius'—"quem bibliothecarium Romanæ ecclesiæ in exordio ordinationis suæ Adrianus constituerat." It has been much disputed whether this excommunicated cardinal of S. Marcellus, afterwards antipope, is the same as the 'Anastasius, the librarian,' under whose name the *Liber Pontificalis* is frequently quoted. It would seem now generally accepted that the two are identical. (*Cf.* Lapôtre, *Le pape Jean VIII.*, p. 39 f.; Jungmann, *Dissert*, iii. 211 n., etc.). In the text I have assumed the identity, though I regard it as more than doubtful.

[2] *Annal.*, *l. c.*

[3] *Ib.* "Et omnes qui ei sive in electione, quod absit, aut pontificatus honore adjutorium præstare voluerint, simili anathemati subjaceant."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

was John (IX. or X., 850–878), archbishop of Ravenna, a partisan of the emperor Louis II. "Without legal sanction," he seized the property of the Pope's subjects (*nostrorum*).[1] In the pursuit of his ambition or his avarice he was ably seconded by his brother George or Gregory,[2] the duke of Emilia, who, with the assistance of two other nobles, Peter and Hadrian, went to the length of murdering a papal legate while on his way to the emperor Lothaire.[3] The assassins no doubt supposed he was going to lodge a complaint against them. With their excesses we must join those of a certain Gratian, perhaps the *magister militum* of that name, with whom Leo had lately had trouble. This ruffian not only did not scruple to put men to death by the sword, by the scourge, or by drowning, but affected to play the part of an independent sovereign even in theory, and forced several people to take an oath of fidelity to him.[4] With robbers such as these at large, the roads became unsafe for pilgrims and merchants alike.[5] But not in vain was appeal made to Leo. He betook himself to Ravenna after intimating to John and his brother that he would not tolerate their oppression of his people.

[1] "Possessiones . . . . nostrorum sine legali sanctione tollere non dubitastis." Jaffé, 2628. Ep., *c.* March 853, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 588.

[2] By Leo he is called George (Jaffé, 2627), and by the *L. P.*, *in vit. Nic. I.*, n. xxv. f., etc. As we shall see, the two brothers continued to give trouble to the Holy See even till the time of Pope Nicholas I. The author of the *Libellus de imp. potestate* (ed. *P. L.*, t. 129, p. 965), written, perhaps, *c.* 897, says of John, "qui serviens imperatori familiarior erat." *Cf. infra*, p. 300.

[3] "Legatum, quem ad vos causa visitacionis direximus . . . . in itinere audivimus esse occisum per consilium Georgii," etc. Ep. 15, ap. *M. G. Epp.*

[4] Ep. 1, *ib.*

[5] *Cf.* the capitularies of Louis II. himself. Nos. 212 and 213 belong to the close of the year 850, and both complain of the attacks on pilgrims and merchants, the general oppression of the *lesser people* (*minor populus*), and of the plunderings which were going on all over Italy. *Capit.*, ed. Boretius, ii. p. 84 ff.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

This journey was undertaken seemingly just before Easter, and the Pope appears to have remained at Ravenna till after his interview with the emperor Louis, and his condemnation of Anastasius.

George, Hadrian, and Peter were tried and condemned to death 'by Roman law.' The fact that the trial took place at Easter (853) saved the lives of the culprits. The law forbade executions at that sacred season, and they had time to appeal to Louis.[1] Ashamed to take their part openly, and yet anxious to support them as his partisans, he proposed that Peter and Hadrian should be sent to Rome, and that a fresh trial should be held. The Pope absolutely refused to agree to the first proposal. His life, he said, would be in danger if they came to Rome.[2] With regard to the second, he expressed his astonishment that it should be made, considering that the accused had had a fair trial in presence of the emperor's *missi*. However, he had no objection to another trial if it were only conducted by imperial *missi*, possessed of the fear of God, and who would act as they would in presence of the emperor himself. How all this affair ended is not known. But John and his brother George or Gregory were still in undisturbed possession of their positions and property in the days of Nicholas I.[3]

Before the Pope left Rome for Ravenna, expecting to be absent for some time, and anxious that good order should be observed in his absence, he issued a special injunction ordering all the officials, clerical and lay, connected with the administration of justice to attend at the Lateran

[1] Ep. 43, ap. *l.c.*

[2] Should they appear there, he would attend the services of the church not in his sacerdotal vestments, in his orarium and planeta, but with lance, shield, and sword. Ep. 42, *ib.*

[3] Ep. 40, *ib.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

palace at the appointed times, just as if he himself were present.[1]

Hincmar of Rheims also, to whom Leo had sent the pallium in the first year of his reign,[2] had dealings with the Pope this same year (853.) Hincmar of Rheims. 853.

It was the emperor Lothaire himself who had asked for the pallium for Hincmar, in a letter which began, "Divine Providence wished that the Apostolic See (which, through the most Blessed Prince of the Apostles, is the head and foundation of sanctity wherever in the world the Christian religion is spread) should obtain the primacy of the churches, that in all religious difficulties recourse should be had to it by all as to the standard (*norma*) of religion and the fount of justice."[3]

It has been already stated that Ebbo of Rheims, after his canonical deposition, was restored to the archdiocese by the power of the emperor Lothaire in 840. On his restoration, Ebbo had ordained certain priests and deacons. These ordinations Hincmar, on the advice of his brethren, as he afterwards maintained,[4] refused to recognise, and they were subsequently declared invalid by a council at Soissons (853). For this council Hincmar endeavoured to procure the confirmation of Leo IV. This, however, he refused on various grounds. The acts of the council had not been sent to him, his legates had not been present at it, no explanatory 'imperial letter' had been sent him, and finally the degraded clerics, chief of whom was one Wulfad, The case of Wulfad.

[1] "In nostra absentia nec ecclesiasticus nec palatinus ordo deficiat. Sed constitutis diebus, tamquam si nos hic fuissemus, omnes nobiles . . . . justitiam faciant." Ep. 23, *ib.*

[2] *Cf.* fourth Session of Council of Soissons of 853, and Ep. 4 Hinc., ap. *P. L.*, 126, p. 53. By an extraordinary exception he is said to have allowed him later (*c.* 850) to use it every day. *Cf.* Epp. 12 and 13, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 590. *Cf. ib.*, p. 643, and Frodoard, *Hist. Rem.*, iii. 10.

[3] Ap. Labbe, *Concil.*, append. ad vol. viii., p. 1931 f.

[4] Ep. Hinc. XI., ap. *P. L.*, t. 126, p. 84.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

had appealed to the Holy See.[1] He therefore wrote (*c.* July 853) to order Hincmar to hold a fresh synod in presence of the papal vicar, Peter, bishop of Spoleto, and to go into the case again. If the deposed clerics, not satisfied with the verdict of this new synod, persisted in appealing to Rome, then, "that the privilege of the Apostolic See might not be rendered nugatory,"[2] not only was leave to go to Rome not to be denied them, but Hincmar or his envoy must accompany them. But before he could succeed in effecting the repeal of the archbishop's unnecessary severity against the clerics, Leo died, and Hincmar managed to obtain a qualified approval of the doings of the Council of Soissons from Leo's successor Benedict. This latter gave his approval "on condition that everything was as stated[3] to him" in the letters of Hincmar. Nicholas I., too, gave[4] (863) a similarly guarded confirmation of the acts of the council of 853. Later on, however, Nicholas listened to the repeated protests of the deposed clerics against the harshness of the sentence decreed against them, and at once took up the affair with his characteristic energy. He wrote (866, April 3) to

[1] "Quarta causa hæc est, quia hi quos depositos charitas vestra auctoritate synodi fore affirmat, per proprias litteras sedem apostolicam appellati sunt," etc. *Ib.* Hincmar gives as his reason for not sending bishops to the Pope with the acts of the synod, "nos metropolitani in istis regionibus non habemus potestatem ut sine consensu vel jussione regis aut nos ipsos ire aut coepiscopos nostros quoquam longius possimus dirigere." (*Ib.*) This tyrannical interference with the free intercourse of the ruling powers of the Church was later on much practised by our own Norman kings. With this apologetic letter of Hincmar, compare the letters of Nicholas I. (*P. L.*, t. 119, Epp. 107 8), making various charges against him. *Ib.* Ep. 107 Nic., and a fragment of Leo's letter, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 590. Hincmar, in his apology, denied any knowlege of this second letter of Leo.

[2] "Ne sedis apostolicæ dissolveretur privilegium." Ep. 107 Nic.

[3] *Ib.*, 107.

[4] Ep. 32. "Si in nullo negotio sedis Rom. jussionibus inventus fueris inobediens."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Herard[1] of Tours, Remigius of Lyons, and other metropolitans, bidding them convoke a synod at Soissons (August 18, 866) and restore the deposed clerics to their respective ranks if Hincmar would not do so of his own accord. He at the same time wrote[2] to Hincmar himself, and begged him to be merciful to the unfortunate clerics. He added, however, that if Hincmar could not see his way in conscience to restore the clerics, he had ordered the archbishops and bishops of Gaul and Neustria (Galliarum et Neustriæ) to meet at Soissons, and restore them; or, if they could not agree on that course, to insist at least on envoys from Hincmar and the clerics coming to Rome. He concluded by telling him that he had ordered Remigius to approach him, and to summon the council himself, "if he (Hincmar) feared to restore the clerics on his own authority." The acts of the council must be sent to the Pope, and Hincmar must take good care not to neglect anything which has been ordered.

This was one of those cases always difficult to manage, where one in authority has inflicted punishment on grounds which are, at least, *prima facie* just, and then will not yield to those reasons of mercy, if not of the strictest justice, which strongly commend themselves to the common superior of the one who has inflicted and the one who has to endure the punishment. Hincmar in degrading the clerics had not done wrong. But he would not extend that mercy to them which, under the circumstances, was really their due. The synod was accordingly summoned.

It met at the time and place appointed by Nicholas. Synod of Soissons, 866.

[1] Ep. 90 to Herard.

[2] Ep. 89. "Quidquid in concilio fuerit a vobis examinatum atque repertum, sub gestorum serie discretioni nostræ, sicut veneranda decreta statuunt, mittere, et nostræ auctoritati quæ salubria videbuntur roboranda, plena fidelique relatione dirigere." *Cf.* Ep. 96 to Charles the Bald.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

"To Remigius (of Lyons), to Wenilo (of Rouen), and to the other archbishops and bishops, by the authority of the Lord Pope Nicholas, assembled in the synod at which he has ordered me and my suffragans to appear," Hincmar addressed four[1] letters or memoirs. He unfolded the whole history of the affair from his point of view; and while declaring his readiness[2] to obey the decrees of Nicholas, endeavoured to make capital out of his previous confirmation and out of that of Benedict III.; and urged that, as he had not himself condemned the clerics, he could not by himself restore them, and that what had once been decreed in councils ought not to be altered without necessity.

The council, however, decided in favour of the deposed clerics. It is true it followed a course suggested by Hincmar. It did not annul the previous decisions against the clerics in question, but it resolved to reinstate them as an act of grace. In its synodal letter to the Pope (August 25) the council showed how much it was influenced by the character of Hincmar, a character which certainly wanted more Christian humility to put it on the road to perfection. While professing[3] to think as the Pope thought, and to put into execution what he decreed, the council endeavoured to make the Pope unsay what he had said, rather than themselves, as a body, undo mercifully what the former Council of Soissons had done with severity. They would be only too glad to restore the clerics—but then there were the former decrees ratified by popes. The corrobora-

[1] Epp. 3-6.

[2] Ep. 3. "Quod privilegio apostolicæ sedis de ipsis fratribus decernit vel decreverit, ut competit meæ subditioni obedio et obediam."

[3] "Quod pium justumque sentitis, sentimus, quod decernitis exequimur, et quod deliberaveritis, eorum in omnibus congratulantes restitutioni efficaciter nos amplectendum fatemur." Ep. Synod. ap. Mansi, xv. 728, etc.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tion of those decisions naturally rested with the Apostolic See, and, therefore, to that magisterial[1] authority they would leave the restoration of the clerics. Hence, if the Pope thought it advisable, these clerics might be reinstated on the same lines as the Council of Nice had restored the reconciled Donatists. In conclusion, they begged the Pope to see to it that no advantage of this indulgence was taken by any in future to exercise clerical duties without proper authority.

Egilo, archbishop of Sens, who was commissioned to take the synodal decrees to Rome, was also the bearer of letters from Charles the Bald, and Hincmar himself to the Pope—both for different reasons anxious for the confirmation of the council. Hincmar's letter[2] (dated September 1, 866), is addressed "to the Lord most holy and reverend Father of Fathers, Nicholas, the Pope of the first and greatest Apostolic See and of the universal Church, Hincmar, bishop of Rheims, the most devoted servant of your most holy paternity." It was quite in the same strain as that of the synod: "If *you* will stretch out a hand to the clerics, we will also do so with you." However, he begs the Pope's confirmation of the synod, and asserts his readiness to stand by the papal decision.

But Nicholas I. was not the Pope to be first hoodwinked and then played with. Four[3] letters of December 6, 866, to the bishops of the synod, to Hincmar, to Charles the Bald, and to the oft-mentioned 'clerics' made the Pope's mind tolerably plain. In his letter to the bishops,[4] Nicholas goes back to the doings of the previous Council of Soissons, and shows that many things were there done or said which

[1] "Solummodo magisteriali vestro culmini eorum assignetur restitutio, attribuatur reformatio, adscribaturque redintegratio." *Ib.*

[2] Ep. vii. "Unde supplico, ut merear scripto huic vestram diffinitionem recipere, quam paratus sum, ut oportet, obnixius observare."

[3] Epp. 107–110.

[4] Ep. 107.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

were not correct. It was said, for instance, that the clerics had of their own accord appeared before the synod, whereas the fact was that they had been forced to appear. Their metropolitan (Hincmar), acting at this synod now as the accused, now as the accuser, and now again as judge, showed himself like the chameleon. In the acts of the council important documents, such as 'the appeal' of the clerics, had been omitted, and others of much less importance inserted. With regard to the confirmations of that synod by the Holy See, safeguarding clauses had been introduced as well by Benedict III. as by himself. And though at the synod assembled by his orders (866) its members had decided that the clerics ought to be restored, they had not restored them, nor had they sent to him a full account of what had been accomplished. He therefore ordered (1) that the bishops should come together to discuss the matter again; (2) that meanwhile the clerics should[1] be restored; and (3) that within a year Hincmar must present to him his accusations against the clerics, and his proofs that they had been canonically deposed. Besides this letter, Nicholas sent a very severe one[2] to Hincmar, which he concluded by threatening to take away his 'pallium' from him, if he used it at unwonted seasons for the purpose of raising himself above the other archbishops. A letter[3] to the 'clerics,' whilst announcing their restora-

[1] "Ante omnia pristinis gradibus et officiis reformati consistant. . . . Quibus videlicet gradibus ac officiis fruentibus eis, fratri Hincmaro licentia sit, intra totius hujus capedinem anni, sæpe dictos exhibere clericos ab ordinibus suis canonice fuisse depositos," etc. *Ib.*

[2] Ep. 108. The letter begins by acknowledging Hincmar's "devotionem et supplicem parentiam tuam, quam erga sedem apostolicam habes."

[3] Ep. 110. "Fratri autem et coepiscopo Hincmaro debitam humilitatem et competentem reverentiam exhibete. . . . Quoniam nos in erectione vestra nullius ruinam quæsivimus." This last remark

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

tion to them, exhorted them to respectful obedience to their archbishop (Hincmar).

These letters of Nicholas were followed in the first instance by the immediate despatch to him (July 867) of a very submissive letter[1] from Hincmar. He assured Nicholas that he had at once restored the clerics, that in this matter his one desire was to please the Pope, and that despite all that had been said against him, he had always, wherever opportunity offered, showed himself "faithful[2] and devoted, humble also, and ever and in all things subject as regards the Holy See and its rulers." In proceeding to defend himself against the Pope's charges, he most earnestly assures him that in so doing he wishes not to resist the Pope's authority in any way, "because[3] he desires to follow that authority as a servant obeys his master, a son his father." With this letter of Hincmar Nicholas expressed himself (867) completely satisfied.[4]

To carry out the instructions of the Pope, Charles the Bald, by virtue of the authority of the same (*auctoritate* The council of Troyes, 867.

and the one that immediately follows it [nec si unam partem stabilire volumus, ut partis alterius dignitatis vel juris detrimenta patiamur] show how incorrect is Prichard's assertion (*Life and Times of Hincmar*, p. 363), that in this dispute one of the objects of Nicholas was "to punish the firmness or the contumacy of Hincmar by proving the uncanonical character of his election." The work last quoted, though certainly useful, "can lay claim to little originality or research" (Preface). What is here said by Nicholas about the pallium gives good reason to believe that the letters in which Leo is supposed to grant Hincmar permission to wear the pallium every day are forgeries. See, however, what Lesne has written in favour of their authenticity in an article (*Hincmar et l'empereur Lothaire*) in the *Revue des Quest. Hist.*, July 1905.

[1] Ep. 11, ap. *P. L.*, p. 76 f. Ep. 12 also to Nicholas is couched in much the same terms.

[2] "Debitis obsequiis, ... quocunque se locus mihi præbuit, monstravi quod fidelis et devotus, humilis quoque atque subjectus semper in omnibus et ubique erga sedem apostolicam et ejus rectores exstiterim." Ep. 11.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Hincmar, *Annal.*, ad. an. 867.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Nicolai), summoned a synod to meet at Troyes (October 25, 867). The bishops sent a full account of their proceedings to the Pope.[1] In their synodal letter they inform Nicholas that they are forwarding him, at his request, all the documents that relate to the case of Ebbo, Hincmar, and the deposed clerics, and conclude by asking him to decree that in future, to avoid similar troubles, no bishop be deposed without the consent of the Holy See.[2]

Actard, bishop of Nantes, was deputed to carry this letter to Rome. And here Hincmar was to learn how foolish it is to put faith in princes. The archbishop tells us, in the *Annals* which he wrote,[3] that Charles the Bald, now interested in advancing Wulfad, one of the deposed clerics, "unmindful of the fidelity and toil of Hincmar in his service," forced Actard to give up the Acts of the Synod, broke their seal and read them. And, finding that Hincmar had not been condemned by the synod, forwarded, with the Acts, a letter directed against him.

This tedious affair did not end even under Pope Nicholas. When Actard reached Rome, Hadrian II. was Pope. But Rome was tired of this business. Hadrian at once (February–March 868) issued various letters on the matter to Charles, Hincmar, etc. The last-named is praised, Charles is told to let 'this useless question' die

[1] *Ib.*

[2] Ep. synod. Trecensis: "Privilegia et decreta servari innovata constitutione decernatis, ita ut nec vestris nec futuris temporibus, praeter consultum Romani Pontificis, de gradu suo quilibet Episcoporum dejiciatur." This pontifical decree is asked for in order to keep in check the presumption of certain metropolitans and bishops; and is said to be in harmony with various decrees of different bishops of Rome—an appeal to the *False Decretals*. The bishops of France would have avoided much degradation if they had always looked to the *Pope* to guard their 'liberties.'

[3] Ad an. 867.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

for ever,[1] the synod of Troyes is confirmed, and Wulfad recognised as archbishop of Bourges. This case of Ebbo, which we have thought advisable to follow out here to its close, is interesting, not as giving us any further insight into the ecclesiastical polity of the day—for that it does not do—but as supplying us with a study of character. It shows us also to what extent a proud and headstrong man in the grasp of authority will turn and twist in his efforts to get his own way, and only succeed in the end in securing for himself greater humiliation.

It may also be noted in connection with this case that in every instance in which they find the Pope intervening, some historians always see him striving to rob someone of his rights in order to increase his own power. It should not, then, surprise anyone to find certain historians trying to calculate how much fresh power accrued to the popes by this case of Ebbo.[2] It would, however, be more than difficult to point out what the popes did in settling this 'useless question,' which we have not seen them doing often enough before.

Grounds of opposition to Rome.

Still there is no doubt that the increased frequency of papal intervention in the affairs of the Church among the Franks, furnished some ground for the idea entertained by some of their bishops that their privileges were being

[1] *Cf.* Epp. Had., ap. Mansi, xv., and Hinc., *Ann.*, 868. *Cf.* Hefele, *Concil.*, § 474 f.

[2] The tendency of Hincmar to domineer was seen in the case of Folcaricus, a vassal (*vasallus*) of the emperor. The archbishop had excommunicated Folcaricus without any sort of a trial. Leo accordingly informed Hincmar that if he acted thus against the canons and mercy for the future, he would be excommunicated himself. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 599. Two other fragments of letters from Leo show him rebuking Hincmar for taking upon himself to excommunicate the emperor Lothaire, King Charles the Bald, and their wives and families. Epp. 36 and 37, *ib.* I must say, however, that I am very suspicious of the authenticity of many of these unsatisfactory fragments.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

interfered with. We know how much local authorities at home resent any unwonted, even if perfectly legal, intrusion of the central government into their affairs. Such an attitude on their part is perfectly natural. Are they not on the spot? Are they not in a better position to be acquainted with the circumstances of their own neighbourhood? There is much in this thought calculated to explain the persistent opposition sometimes offered to the action of the popes in different countries.

But for all that, it is the right of the chief authority to judge how far its direct action in any locality is necessary either for the preservation of its own power, or for the advantage of the community; and, despite all opposition, to see that such action is respected and that its decisions are acknowledged.

Hincmar, for instance, was often able, in his differences with the popes, to make out a good case of having precedent on his side. But if that fact gave him some title for endeavouring to maintain the *status quo*, it certainly did not debar the central authority of Rome from putting an end to a state of things which it conceived to be, from any cause, undesirable.

Other relations with the Franks or their rulers.

Several other fragments of Leo's letters enable us to get glimpses of many further transactions between him and the Franks or their rulers—glimpses which serve to bring out the uncompromising yet conciliatory character of the Pope. While assuring[1] Lothaire that he will ever observe his decrees and those of his predecessors, he does not see his way[2] to granting his request for the pallium for Alteus of Autun.

He reminds Charles the Bald, that if, "a thing which we do not believe, we are thought by you to be of no account, the Church, at least, over which we preside is rightly

[1] Jaffé, *Regest.*, 2643 (1994). [2] *Ib.*, 2603 (1972).

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

regarded by everyone as the head and source (*caput principiumque*) of all."[1] Another fragment[2] to the emperors Lothaire and Louis is useful as showing how the freedom of election of bishops in the empire, proclaimed in theory by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, was practically non-existent. The Pope had to write to ask the permission of the emperors before he could consecrate the deacon Colonus to be bishop of Reate, a town in the duchy of Spoleto, and hence under the emperor's jurisdiction.

Nomenoius, Duke of Brittany.

One of the forces at work in disintegrating the empire of the Franks was Nomenoius, duke of Brittany. It was in the course of his efforts in that direction that he entered into correspondence with Pope Leo. Originally one of the counts *missi* of Louis the Pious he was given (826) jurisdiction over Brittany with the title of duke. It was not long, however, before he aimed at making himself independent[3] of the empire, and securing the title of king. Understanding right well what was best at least for his own interests, he made up his mind to create a national Church, or, at least, to have in Brittany an ecclesiastical organisation, over which he could have complete control. As he found matters, the bishops of Brittany were spiritually subject to the archbishopric of Tours, a See in the realm of Charles the Bald. An opportunity of forwarding his views was not long in presenting itself. St.

[1] *Ib.*, 2625 (1995). In fragments to the 'judge of Sardinia' (*judici Sardiniæ*) he has to refuse what he has asked, as it is contrary to the synods, and to exhort him to see that his daily orders are carried out by armed men. (*Ib.*, §§ 2001–2). From other fragments (§§ 1996–7–8, 2000) it would certainly seem that in those days the Pope was the only ruler who was striving for the maintenance of law and order.

[2] *Ib.*, 2613, 2615 (1984–5).

[3] *Cf.* Prudent., *Annal.*, ad an. 843 f. Regino, *in Chron.*, ad an. 837 f. Regino, at one time abbot of Prum, died in 915. A German by birth, he was accounted a good and clever man.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Convoyon, abbot of Redon, accused the Breton bishops of simony. Nomenoius took cognisance of the matter; and, as the bishops did not succeed in justifying themselves, it was agreed that the Pope should be consulted as to whether a simoniacal bishop could be received into penance without being deposed. Solutions of other questions were to be likewise sought from Rome, "which," as the anonymous disciple of the saint informs us, the accused bishops called "the head of all the churches under the expanse of heaven"; and where, "before the vicar of S. Peter, *i.e.*, the Roman pontiff," they declared their intention of stating their case and of receiving judgment. St. Convoyon and two of the accused bishops therefore set out to lay the matter before Leo.[1] Though the Pope decided that bishops found guilty of simony must be deposed, he did not himself order the deposition of the Breton bishops. He would only have them condemned before twelve bishops, or on the evidence given on oath of seventy-two witnesses. And further, as he laid down in the letter which he addressed to the bishops of Brittany (848 or later), if any[2] bishop appealed to Rome, no one was to presume

[1] The two authorities (?) for this affair are not in full accord; they are (1) an old document on the subject published by Sirmond at the end of the capitularies of Charles the Bald; and (2) the *Life of S. Convoyon*, ap. Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, t. vi. The 'old document' is also to be found at the end of the eighth vol. of Labbe's ed. of the *Councils*, and in many other works. But in his *remarkable* edition of an eleventh century Chronicle of Nantes (written about 1049), Merlet (ed. Picard, 1896) has shown that the 'old document'—*Indiculus de epp. Brit. depositione*—was written *after* the above-mentioned chronicle, which it uses, and consequently is not to be compared as an authority with the *life* of Convoyon, which was the work of a contemporary author, a disciple of the saint. *Cf.* p. xlix. f.

[2] "Eo si fuerit episcopus, qui suam causam in præsentia Rom. sedis episcopi petierit audiri, nullus super illum finitivam præsumat dare sententiam." Ep. Leonis, "Quanto studio," ap. *M. G. Epp.*, iv. 593. *Cf. Chron. Namnet.*, c. 11, p. 35, ed. Merlet; and the *life* of St. Convoyon, l. ii. c. 10, p. 211 f., ap. *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, Sæc. iv., pt. ii.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

to pass sentence on him. In this same letter, in answer to various queries addressed to him, Leo decided that it belonged to bishops to regulate ecclesiastical affairs and to govern the diocese; condemned the practice of judging cases by 'lots,' and pointed out by what canons bishops were to be tried.

The decision of Leo regarding the bishops accused of simony did not suit Nomenoius. With threats of death he made them resign their bishoprics, had their places filled by men devoted to him, and created three fresh bishoprics, making one of these, Dol, the metropolitan See for his new kingdom. It was not till the thirteenth century that the upstart claims of Dol were once for all finally put down, and those of Tours again allowed to have their way. Despite the protest of Leo,[1] and that of a council of Paris (849), which urged the authority of the Holy See on him, Nomenoius not only persisted in his course in the matter of the Breton bishops, but even expelled Actard from Nantes, which did not properly belong to Brittany, and put one, Gislard, in his place. Nomenoius, however, did not continue long to defy the authority of the Church. He died in 851.[2]

St. Ignatius and Pope Leo.

The trouble raised in the Church by Nomenoius was but a trifle compared to the one which was now gathering in the East, and of which Leo witnessed the first forerunners. St. Ignatius[3] had been enthroned as patriarch of Constantinople on July 4, 846.

[1] Jaffé, 2599–60 (1977–8, 2003–4).

[2] Prudent., *Annal.*, ad an. 851. On these doings of Nomenoius, *cf.* Jager, *Hist. Eccles. de France*, v. 59 f.; *Hist. des Conc.*, par Sauclières, iii. 457 f.; Hefele, v. 358; and especially Merlet's notes to his ed. of the *Chron. of Nantes*, and append. C, Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. pt. i.

[3] His *life*, by David Nicetas, called the Paphlagonian, because he was a bishop of Dadybra in those parts, is published by Labbe (in Greek with a Latin version), viii. p. 1179 ff. The *life* was written in

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

To show his good-will to the Pope he sent him a present of a pall (*pallium superhumerale*). Leo, however, felt compelled politely to refuse the proferred gift—"because it is not the custom of this Church, the mistress and head of all the churches, to receive the pall from others, but throughout Europe to send it to those to whom it is appointed."[1]

The holy patriarch had occasion, on some grounds not known to us, to slight Gregory Asbestas, bishop of Syracuse, who, after the coming of the Saracens to Sicily, had withdrawn to Constantinople. So outrageously did Gregory behave in consequence, that Ignatius caused him to be deposed in a council at Constantinople (854). According to a letter[2] of Stylian, the metropolitan of Neocæsarea, addressed to Pope Stephen (V.) VI., Gregory, and the few clergy of no standing who adhered to him, appealed to the Pope. Leo at once wrote to Ignatius to ask him to send an envoy to Rome who might lay the case of the schismatics before him from the patriarch's point of view. Ignatius thereupon sent one Lazarus, a monk illustrious as a confessor of the faith, who was thoroughly acquainted with the case. Lazarus, who was the bearer of letters from the patriarch, put the whole matter before the Pope, who confirmed the sentence of Ignatius, a decision which was repeated by his successor Benedict. This version of Leo's action given by Stylian, who in this letter gives a summary of the whole affair of Photius, a name to be for ever

the ninth century and after the year 880. He says: "rerumque de illo (Ignatio) apud nos testatissimarum veritatem sive fama sive scripto acceptarum sine ulla affectus indulgentia et fraude expono." *Ib.*, p. 1181.

[1] Fragment ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 607.

[2] This letter forms part of the appendix of documents to the fourth Council of Constantinople (eighth œcumenical) of 869–870, ap. Labbe (viii. 1397 f.); and is also printed (*ib.*, ix.) among the letters of Stephen (V.) VI. "Eamdem in schismaticos sententiam tulit (Leo), quam antea in eosdem tulerat Ignatius."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

notorious in the history of the Church, does not quite agree with the notice left of it in several of his letters, by Nicholas I., nor with the *Liber Pontificalis*, according to which Lazarus only reached Rome in the pontificate of Benedict III. And certainly it is more likely that Nicholas would know what exactly had been done by his predecessors, than a Greek who lived at a distance. According to Nicholas,[1] though Ignatius asked 'the Apostolic See' to consent to the deposition of Gregory, Leo and Benedict, "guarding the moderation of the Holy See," were unwilling so far to give ear to one side as to leave no opening for the other.

And, indeed, within comparatively recent years, the discovery made by Mr. Bishop of many fragments of papal letters in the British Museum has proved conclusively that at least for a time Leo certainly did not approve of the action of Ignatius. For an extract from a letter of his (*c.* 853) to the patriarch runs thus: "From the time when the only Son of God founded on Himself His holy Church, and by His *apostolic institutions* (*apostolicis institucionibus, i.e.*, as I take it, by the dispositions He made among His apostles), established a head of all His priests, any difficulty or trouble which arose in your Church your predecessors hastened with all zeal and diligence to make known to the Roman pontiff,[2] and then, strengthened by his assent and light-giving counsel, they peacefully accomplished whatever the circumstances required. But you, their successor, have assembled bishops and deposed certain prelates without our knowledge. This

[1] Ep. 98 to the emp. Michael (ad an. 866), ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 1030.

[2] "Cujuscumque contradictionis litigiique contentio vestræ oriebatur vel accidebat ecclesiæ, Romano vestri predecessores pontifici ingenti eam studio procacique celeritate innotescere procurabant," ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 589.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

you certainly ought not to have done in the absence of our legates or of letters from us."

Leo died before the evidence before him could be cleared up. Benedict, though he declared Gregory suspended,[1] did not go to the length of deposing him, a fact which, as Nicholas acknowledges in the first[2] of the three letters just quoted, only made Gregory more insolent against his patriarch. We have said that Leo witnessed the forerunners of the storm soon to be caused by Photius. Gregory and his party were the chief tools made use of by Bardas Cæsar and Photius. It was Gregory that made Photius from a layman into a patriarch in a day or two.

Charge of conspiracy in Rome in favour of the Greeks, 855.

Another Greek affair, much nearer home, also troubled the last days of Leo. A certain Daniel, a 'magister militum,' who, according to the description of him in the *Liber Pontificalis*, was partly wicked and partly foolish, went off to the emperor Louis to lay a charge against Gratian, who is therein set down not only as "the most eminent magister militum," but also as "the worthy *Superista* of the Roman palace (the Lateran) and councillor" of the Pope. It is possible he may be the Gratian of whom mention has already been made. Daniel assured Louis that Gratian had secretly said to him that the best policy of the Romans was to form an alliance with the Greeks and get rid of the domination of the Franks. Roused to fury at once, as his relations with the East were at this period not of the best,[3] Louis flew to Rome, without a word of warning either to the Pope or to the 'Senate.' Leo received him,

[1] *Cf. ib.*, Epp. Nich. I., 99 (p. 1046), and 104 (p. 1074).

[2] Ep. 98, cited above. "Depositio ipsius a sede apostolica non suscepta, remansit infirma. . . . Cumque Gregorius . . . . sedem agnovisset apostolicam in sua depositione nullatenus consensisse . . . . patientia sedis apostolicæ abutens in Ignatium . . . . jacula . . . . exacuit."

[3] Prudent., *Annal.*, 853.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

with the customary honours, on the steps of St. Peter's, and soon calmed the imperial anger. The two, assisted by the Roman and Frankish nobles, held a 'placitum' to examine into the affair. Daniel was soon condemned out of his own mouth when tried by 'the Roman law,' and only the intercession[1] of the emperor saved the unfortunate man's life.

Death of Leo, 855.

Soon after the departure of Louis, died the energetic and courageous Pope Leo IV., a pontiff as ready, when duty called, to wield the spear as the crozier (July 17). He was buried in St. Peter's, and is ranked among the saints in the Roman martyrology on July 17. It is on this day that the feast of St. Leo IV. is still kept.

His miracles.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis*,[2] Leo was illustrious, even in life for the working of miracles. As examples we find there cited his stopping the advance of the fire in the Anglo-Saxon quarter by making the sign of the cross, of which we have spoken above; and his destroying by his prayers, "in the first year of his Pontificate," and on the day "on which the Assumption of the Blessed Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary is celebrated," a serpent of the "dire kind, which in Greek is known as a basilisk, and in Latin as a regulus." According to the papal biographer this serpent infested certain dark caverns in the vicinity of the Church of S. Lucia 'in Orfea' (so called from its proximity to a fountain with a statue of Orpheus), now S. Lucia in Selci, and caused general consternation by the number which it killed "by its breath and by its appearance."

[1] All direct from the *L. P.* "Cum jam traditum (sc. Gratiano) Danielem Imperator a Gratiano . . . . humili supplicatione petivisset, Gratianus assensit, quem ille suscepit," etc.

[2] Leo "qui fama tantæ sanctitatis claruit, ut in conspectu universi istius in Xto fundatæ Ecclesiæ populi miracula operaretur." *In vit.* That the 'famous Leo' was a worker of miracles is also the statement of Photius, *Mystagogia*, ap. *P. G. L.*, t. cii. p. 376.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Leo, with all the clergy, went in solemn procession to the said caverns, singing hymns and carrying[1] a statue, or rather a representation of Our Lord. After the Pope had earnestly begged of God to drive away the serpent, the reptile was never afterwards seen. Whatever may have been the origin of this portent, it reminds one of the devastating monster Cacus represented by Livy (i. 7) as living on the Aventine, who, according to Varro, used to vomit forth flames, and who was finally slain by Hercules. Leo's basilisk is evidently related to the dragon, which, according to the legend[2] of Pope Silvester, that Pope shut up in its cave in the Tarpeian rock. And whatever was done by Leo to give rise to this curious legend, the memory of it survived for centuries. Canon Benedict, who wrote an *Ordo Romanus*, or Book of Ceremonies of the Roman church, during the reign of Innocent II. (1130–43), speaking of the very procession of the image of Our Lord just described,[3] says that, when it left the Church of St. Hadrian, the statue was carried "through the arch *in Lathone*,[4] because of old the devil had caused great trouble in that part. Then the procession passed by the *Domus Orphei* on account of the basilisk which used to lurk there in a cavern, and which by its breath and hissing used to cause people who passed thereby to sicken and die. Hence Pope *Sergius* (II.) instituted this procession on this great festival, that by the prayers of so many people and by the intercession of the most blessed Virgin, the Roman people

[1] "Sancta præcedente icona." *L. P.* It was the Lateran image known as '*achiropoieton*,' 'not made with hands.' *Cf. Ord. Rom.*, xi., n. 71, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78.

[2] *Cf.* Duchesne, *L. P.*, i. pp. cxi and 530, and the *Mirabilia* (Eng. ed.), p. 98.

[3] *Ord. Rom.*, xi., n. 72, ap. *P. L.*, t. 78.

[4] The arcus *in Lathone*, or *Arcus Latronis*, was situated between the churches of S. Maria Nova and S. Hadrian, and close to the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian by the Forum.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

might be freed from these troubles." From a sixteenth century writer,[1] it appears that the arch, in Lathone, or really *in Latrone*, the *Robber arch*, was so called from the robberies and murders which took place near it, and which the neighbourhood of the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine enabled to be committed with more or less impunity. The same author assures us that it was on account of these outrages that the mid-August procession of the statue of Our Saviour carried on the shoulders of the Roman nobility passed by the *Robber arch*. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the original *basilisk* of Leo IV. was a robber band.

Commands the Octave of the Assumption to be observed.

Doubtless in connection with this event Leo ordered[2] the octave day of the Assumption to be observed in Rome. Up to this time, only the feast itself (August 15), introduced from the East during the course of the seventh century,[3] had been kept there. He was so pleased with the attendance of the people on the occasion of the first celebration of this new octave that he gave all present a considerable present of money.

Leo's fresco of the 'Assumption.'

Among the frescos discovered in the subterranean basilica of St. Clement was one of the Assumption. It represents Our Lady with outstretched arms, standing on the top of an empty tomb, and looking up towards God and His angels. On each side of the tomb are six of the apostles in various attitudes of astonishment, and beside them on one side a figure with the words (Scs. Vitus); and on the other a figure bearing a square nimbus, wearing the pallium, and with the words Sanctissimus Dom. Leo —rt PP Romanus. A letter in front of the 'rt' is effaced; it was doubtless 'q'—qrt, quarti (IV). Beneath the fresco

[1] Pirro Ligorio, ap. Lanciani, *L'Itinerario di Einsiedeln*, p. 120; and *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, p. 208.

[2] *Ib.* That this order was given in the first year of Leo's reign we learn from Sigebert, *in Chron.*, ad an. 847.

[3] Duchesne, *Les Origines*, p. 272.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

are the words: "Quod hæc præ cunctis splendet pictura decore, componere hanc studuit præsbyter ecce Leo." "That this picture may outshine the rest in beauty, lo! the priest Leo studied to compose it." As the titular Church of Leo when cardinal priest of the 'Quatuor Coronati' is just opposite that of St. Clement, it is not unlikely that he either designed or painted this fresco whilst a simple priest, and that the pallium, etc., were added afterwards. Of course it may be that the work was executed by another priest of the same name.[1]

His 'homily.'

Seeing that Leo's preaching is especially alluded to by his biographer, it is the opinion of many,[2] that the "Homily on the Pastoral Care," which is still in the *Pontificale*, and which is also to be found in the various editions of the *Councils*, should be assigned to Leo IV. The homily is an instruction on sacerdotal duties which Leo wished that bishops should read to all priests who had the cure of souls. The instruction first tells the priests what they themselves must do, and then what they must impress upon the people—for instance, that on Ash Wednesday they must exhort the people to come and confess their sins. They must urge them to approach "to the communion of the Body and Blood of the Lord" at Christmas, Maundy Thursday, Easter, and Pentecost, and must, on the contrary, condemn 'wakes.'[3] Farm labourers of various kinds have to be especially reminded of their duty to go to Mass on Sundays, and to teach their children, or

[1] *Cf.* Father Mullooly's *Life of St. Clement*, p. 280, where there is a photograph of this fresco.

[2] Jaffé, 2659, does not hesitate to refer it to Leo IV., but Duchesne (*L. P.*, ii. 135) will not allow that it is the work of Leo IV., or, indeed, of any Pope. I believe his opinion is the correct one, and note that part of this homily is to be found in the *Synodica* of Ratherius of Verona (tenth century), printed at the end of Labbe, *Concil.*, ix.

[3] "Prohibete carmina diabolica quæ nocturnis horis super mortuos vulgus facere solet."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cause them to be taught, the "Lord's Prayer and the Creed."

Leo and church music.

Besides being a preacher, Leo was also a musician, or, at least, took great interest in music. It would seem that at the monastery of St. Martin, where he had been educated, that art was especially cultivated. Its abbot John, at the time archcantor of St. Peter's, had two centuries before this been sent to England to instruct our countrymen in the ecclesiastical chant.[1] We have two indications of Leo's concern for matters musical. In 847 he ordered that vespers should be publicly chanted in the basilica of St. Paul. The *schola cantorum* and all the clergy had to proceed thither on the saint's feast (June 30), just as they betook themselves to the *stational* churches for Mass.[2] And somewhere about the year 852 he wrote to Honoratus, possibly abbot of Farfa, the following letter,[3] which will speak for itself, and which, especially on account of the interest now taken in the Gregorian chant, is worth inserting to the full extent in which it has come down to us.

"A quite incredible story has reached our ears, which, if it be true, must rather prejudice than do us honour. . . . It is averred that you have such an aversion to the sweet chant of St. Gregory, and the system of singing and reading (*canendi legendique*) which he drew up and bequeathed to the Church, that you are at variance in this matter not only with this See, which is near to you, but almost with every other church in the West, and, in fact, with all those who use the Latin tongue to pay to the King of Heaven their tribute of praise. All these churches have received with such eagerness and such devoted affection the aforesaid

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 16.

[2] *L. P.*, n. xii., and p. 135, n. 5.

[3] Ep. 33, ap. *M. G. Epp.*, v. 603. I have used the translation which appeared in the *Month*, February 1904.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

system (*traditio*) of Gregory, that although we have communicated the whole to them, they are so delighted that they leave us no peace with their inquiries about it, thinking that there must be more of the same remaining with us. It was, indeed, the holy Pope Gregory, ... who both devoted his best energies to the salvation of souls, and who also with great labour and much musical skill composed this chant which we sing in the church, and even elsewhere. It was his desire to rouse and touch the hearts of men, so that by the sound of these highly elaborated strains (*artificiosæ modulationis sonitu*) he might draw to church not only ecclesiastics, but also those who were uneducated and hard to move.

"I beg of you not to allow yourself to remain in opposition to this Church, the supreme head of religion,[1] from whom no one wishes to separate, or to the other churches mentioned, if you desire to live in entire peace and harmony with the universal Church of God. For if, which we cannot believe, you have such an aversion to our teaching and to the system of our holy Pontiff, that you will not conform in every point to our rite, whether in the chanting or in the lessons (*in cantilenis et lectionibus*), know that we shall reject you from our communion."

His coins. Of the three denarii of Leo, known to Promis, all bear on the obverse: LO. PA✠SCS. PETRVS; and on the reverse ✠HLOTHARIVS HIMP (Himperator). Another is cited by Cinagli as having the same obverse, but as bearing on its reverse L.O.P.A.✠SCS. PAVLVS. This specimen, however, is justly suspected by Promis, who cannot see any reason for the omission of the name of Lothaire, with whom Leo was always on good terms.[2]

[1] Hence he elsewhere says of himself: "Nos, qui pre cunctis orbis terre presulibus honore et vice fungimur." Ep. 41, ed. Loewenfeld.

[2] Pg. 61.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Liber Pontificalis.

It is interesting to note at the close of a biography of Leo IV. that at least some of the editions of the *Liber Pontificalis* terminated with the *life* of this Pope. After giving a short sketch of his reign, Odericus Vitalis[1] says that of the popes who followed him he has not been able "to discover any genuine accounts," whereas the *Pontifical* had been his guide before. This fact may easily account for the foisting of the stupid story of Pope Joan into some copies of the *Liber Pontificalis*.

[1] *Hist.*, ii. c. 19.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BENEDICT III.

A.D. 855–858.

Sources.—What was said of the *life* of Sergius in the *L. P.* may be repeated of that of Benedict III. We have here the same full account of his election, the same excusing phrase for not giving more of the incidents of his life, and the same list of church repairs. The biographer begins his work in a rather extravagant style.

The materials for Benedict's biography are scant. The Frankish annals barely mention his name.

Our own *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, etc., tell of the doings of Ethelwulf in Rome.

The few letters and decrees of Benedict which are extant may be read in the *Councils*, or ap. *P. L.*, tt. 115 and 129.

Emperors of the East.	Emperors of the West.
Theodora and Michael III. (the Drunkard), 842–856.	Lothaire I., 823–855.
Michael III., 856–867.	Louis II., 850–875.

Early life. AFTER informing us that Benedict was a Roman and the son of Peter, his biographer assures us that as a youth he took in learning as a sponge absorbs moisture. The good report of him that soon spread abroad was the cause of his being brought to the Lateran palace and added to the ranks of the clergy. He soon showed himself wise in mind

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and speech, and a man full of sympathy for all.[1] Gregory IV. made him a subdeacon, and Leo IV. priest. As *priest of the title of St. Calixtus*, his signature is to be found among those of the cardinal priests appended to the decrees of the Roman Council of December 8, 853.

Elected Pope.

On the death of the latter Pontiff, the clergy,[2] nobles, senate, and people gathered together immediately to beg of God to point out to them a worthy Pope. After failing to induce Hadrian,[3] the priest of St. Mark's, to accept the burden of the pontificate, they unanimously resolved to select Benedict, straightway went off to his Church of St. Calixtus, and declared their wishes to him. Falling on his knees, the humble Benedict begged them, with tears, not to take him from his church, as he was unable to bear the weight of the papacy. He pleaded in vain. He was carried off in triumph, and, to the great joy of the whole city, enthroned, according 'to ancient custom,' in the Lateran palace. The decree of election was at once drawn up, signed by both clergy and nobles, and, 'as old custom[4] requires,' sent off to the emperors Lothaire and Louis II.

The bearers of the 'decree of election' are tampered with.

The envoys to whom this decree was entrusted, Nicholas, bishop of Anagni, and Mercury, a 'magister militum,' were met at Eugubium on their journey to Louis II. by Arsenius, bishop of Horta.[5] With arguments, in all likelihood, more

[1] Even Photius (*Mystagogia*, ap. *P. G.*, t. 102, p. 378) says of Benedict that "he was meek and humble, and distinguished for his asceticism."

[2] "Leo ubi . . . . occubuit, mox omnis Clerus . . . . universique proceres cunctusque senatus ac populus congregati sunt. . . . Uno consensu . . . . Benedictum . . . . pontificem promulgaverunt eligere." *L. P.*

[3] Afterwards Hadrian II. *Cf. L. P., in vit. Had.*, n. iii.

[4] "Clerus et cuncti proceres decretum componentes propriis manibus roboraverunt, et consuetudo prisca ut poscit, Lothario ac Ludovico destinaverunt." *L. P.*

[5] *Vid. supra*, p. 281.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

cogent than words, he persuaded the envoys to be false to the commission they had received, and to espouse the candidature of his son, the cardinal priest Anastasius, whom we have seen excommunicated by Leo IV. Although Arsenius, who had for some years been a man of considerable importance in Rome, was devoted to the emperor Louis II., his action in behalf of his son was no doubt the outcome of personal ambition rather than of any zeal to promote an imperial candidate. What story the envoys told Louis is not known. On their return to Rome they announced the coming of imperial *missi*. When these latter arrived at Horta, on the persuasion of Arsenius, they, or at least some[1] of them, the counts Adalbert and Bernard, attached themselves to Anastasius. At Horta the counts were joined by Nicholas and the rest of his party, who left Rome on pretence of going to meet the imperial *missi*.

The first legates sent by Benedict to meet the counts were taken into custody, a mode of treatment which even barbarians, as the *Book of the Popes* takes notice, do not mete out to ambassadors. Benedict next sent forward Hadrian, the secundicerius of the Holy See, and the Duke Gregory.

The imperial *missi* approach Rome.

Understanding from his *missi* that such was the emperor's wish, the Romans, "not knowing the intrigues that were in progress," went out across the Ponte Molle to meet them. All then entered the Leonine city together. Immediately a scene of violence ensued. The superista Gratian, whom we saw in the last pontificate arraigned for his real or supposed antipathy to the Frankish overlordship, and the

[1] From the narrative in the *Book of the Popes*, it would appear that some of the imperial missi, perhaps the clerical ones, did not join Anastasius. "*Ex quibus* (missis) Adel. et Bern. se conjunxerunt Anastasio."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

scriniarius Theodore were seized; Anastasius entered the basilica of St. Peter, and, behaving 'worse than the Saracens,' not only destroyed the representation of the synod in which he had been condemned, and which Leo, according to custom, had had painted and placed over the gates of the sanctuary, but also broke and burnt the images all about it.[1] He then forced his way into the Lateran palace, ordered Romanus, bishop of Bagnorea, to drive Benedict from the pontifical chair, and himself sat on a throne "he was not worthy to touch" says Benedict's biographer. The barbarous Romanus even went the length of tearing the pontifical robes from Benedict, and loading him with reproaches and blows. This is not the first time we have seen the Vicar of Christ treated like his Divine Master, and it will not be the last.

Benedict is seized.

Anastasius then (September 21) handed Benedict over to the custody of certain priests, who 'for their crimes' had been deposed by Pope Leo. Meanwhile the whole city was filled with grief, and clergy and laity flocked to the churches, and implored the help of God. On Sunday they met together in the Basilica Æmiliana,[2] and there, right into the apse where the clergy were assembled, the imperial *missi* forced their way, and with drawn swords called on the clergy to elect Anastasius. Finding they could not terrify the whole body, they seized the bishops of Ostia and Albano, for Radoald of Porto, the third bishop who had the right to consecrate the Pope, had already been gained, took them apart, and tried, first by promises and then by threats, to induce them to consecrate Anastasius. This they firmly refused to do, and pointed

[1] With the *Liber Pont.*, *cf.* the annals of Hincmar, ad an. 868, where we are told that Benedict restored the picture "et lucifluis coloribus decoravit."

[2] The Church of the *Quatuor Coronati*.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

out to the *missi* that they were asking for what was opposed to the sacred scriptures. The noble courage and pointed words of the bishops had their effect on the Franks. For after a private discussion in their native language,[1] their anger abated. Again early on Tuesday a great mass of the clergy and people assembled in the Lateran basilica and made it quite plain to the Franks that Benedict only would they have. The *missi* thereupon called the clergy into the Lateran palace, and at length found it necessary to yield to their arguments and firmness. They then consented to expel Anastasius from the Lateran and to agree to whatever should be decided upon after a three days' fast. Anastasius was accordingly driven forth from the palace, while Benedict was restored to his party. From the place in the Lateran where Anastasius had confined him, he was escorted with great joy "on the horse which Pope Leo was wont to use" to St. Mary Major's, where the next three days were spent in fasting and prayer. At the close of the fast the partisans of Anastasius came to Benedict, humbly acknowledged their guilt, and begged the forgiveness which they received. Even the imperial *missi*[2] came to make soft speeches to the Pope.

Consecrated Pope.

He was then honourably escorted back to the Lateran palace, and on the following Sunday, October 6, or with Jaffé, September 29, was duly consecrated in the presence of the imperial envoys at St. Peter's.

Surely this example of the methods of the interference of the secular power is enough to make any Erastian blush. For its own ends it would have put a wicked excommunicated cardinal in the chair of Peter by the sword,

[1] "Secretius linguam eorum confabulantes furor .... minuit." *L. P.*

[2] All this direct from the *L. P.* "Etiam ipsi Imperiales ibidem convenerunt legati, qui salubribus verbis, ac mollioribus cum eodem secretius electo confabulabantur."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

and by the hands of any villains whom they could have found to do their work.

Anastasius was condemned by a synod, but mercifully admitted by Benedict to lay communion,[1] and, as a layman,[2] made abbot of the monastery attached to S. Maria in Trastevere.

Condition of the Franks.

The Franks would at this period have been very much better employed in attending to their own internal affairs. But oppression was then the order of the day among them. The emperor Lothaire died (September 29) on the same day as that of the consecration of Benedict. Following the fatal example of his predecessors, he subdivided his long strip of territory. Louis II. kept Italy and the imperial title, Charles received Provence, the 'duchy of Lyons,' Dauphiné and that part of the old kingdom of Burgundy which was on the other side of the Jura mountains, and Lothaire II.—of whom we shall have to say much—had, roughly speaking, the country between the Rhine and the Scheldt, between the Meuse and the Rhine, and southwards to the confluence of the Rhone and the Saone and the Jura mountains. This last kingdom came to be known as *Lotharingia*, or Lorraine in French. There were now five kings of the Franks. The Aquitainians were in constant revolt against Charles the Bald, the Slavs were defeating Louis the German, and the Normans and Saracens were still devastating the north and south coasts respectively. The kings or nobles were constantly oppressing and robbing the Church. There is scarcely a council held among the Franks at this period which does not protest against the seizing of church property; and with much of what they did not rob, they did worse. They gave it to their utterly unworthy relations.

[1] Hincmar., *Annal.*, ad an. 868. *Cf. L. P., in vit. Had. II.*, n. x.

[2] At this period abbots were, as a rule, not priests.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

The great nobles were daily making themselves more independent.

Letter of Benedict concerning the subdeacon Hubert.

One of the few letters of Benedict which have been preserved, while treating of one man, gives us a vivid picture in miniature of the disorders among the Franks we have just sketched. In 856 Lothaire married Theutburga, the daughter of a certain Count Boso. The brother of Theutburga was a subdeacon, Hubert by name. Falling into bad company, the young man soon became remarkable for wickedness even in his age and country. He went about with a gang of abandoned men and women, and, though he had no lack of money from his various monasteries, he seized the famous monastery of St. Maurice (of Agaune) in Valais, and scattered its revenues on harlots, dogs, and birds. Of this monastery he kept permanent possession. He also violated the sanctity of the equally famous monastery of Luxeuil, by keeping possession of it for some days with his vile crew Nor did he hesitate to endanger the peace which the Pope had contrived[1] to make between the emperor Louis II. and his brothers; for the former had shown himself dissatisfied that his father's will confined him to Italy. This infamous conduct of Hubert was at length brought to the notice of Benedict, who in a letter addressed to all the bishops of the kingdom of Charles, king of Provence, ordered the subdeacon to come to Rome to answer the charges brought against him, under pain of excommunication. It is not to be wondered at that a threat of excommunication did not alarm Hubert. Thinking to strengthen himself by advancing his relatives, Lothaire II. in 859 granted Hubert a duchy between the

[1] This account of the doings of Hubert is taken from Benedict's letter alluded to in the text—ap. Labbe, viii. p. 233 f. "Pacemque, quam inter Hludouvicum munivimus Cæsarem semper Augustum, suosque gloriosos germanos, ... scindere, ut audivimus non dubitavit." It is also printed *M. G. Epp.*, v. 612.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Jura and the Pennine Alps. But after Lothaire began to dishonour his lawful wife Theutburga, Hubert's sister, that worthy took up arms against his brother-in-law. And in his mountain fastnesses he defied the power of Lothaire. However, after the death (863) of Charles of Provence, that part of his kingdom which embraced Hubert's duchy fell into the hands of the warlike emperor Louis II., and in 864 the subdeacon was slain by one of the emperor's counts.[1] What can have been the power of the law when a ruffian noble could so long despise with impunity the moral and physical forces of Pope, emperor, and king?

Benedict blames the bishops of France for its disorders.

The letter just cited was not the first which Benedict had addressed to the bishops of France. He had written before to urge them to speak out against the evils which were impeding the action of the Church in France, and rather attributing the difficulties under which they were labouring to their silence. This letter, now lost, put, according to the Frankish bishops, the blame on the wrong persons. They were not conscious to themselves of having been 'dumb dogs.' And so, thinking that their king (Charles the Bald) was the one at fault, they did not fail to tell him so. They addressed a memorial[2] to him, in which they urge: "We should have felt keenly the reproofs which the Pope addresses to us in the letter which we have heard together with you, if we had really done what, with so much vehemence, he lays to our charge. But as we have never given our consent to the disorder (monastic laxity especially) concerning which he is most insistent; nay, as, on the contrary, we have often raised our voices against it, and have often warned you and your

[1] *Cf.* Regino, *in Chron.*, ad ann. 859, 866, and Hincmari *Annal.*, ad an. 864. According to the *Annales Xantenses* (ap. *M. G. SS.*, ii.), the death of Hubert took place in 866.

[2] Among the *Capitularies* of Charles the Bald, ap. *P. L.*, t. 138, or ap. Boretius, ii. 424.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

subjects by our words and writings to correct what has been done against the canons, we are less affected by his reproaches. Nevertheless once again we join our voices to that of the Pope, and exhort you to re-establish, as soon as may be, order in the monasteries of your kingdom which are in a deplorable condition, and to cause to be observed the capitularies to which you have affixed your seal at Coulaines, Beauvais," etc.[1] But to effect this much-needed reform Charles the Bald, if he had the wish, had not the courage. It would have been necessary for him to have put himself in active opposition to many of his great nobles, to whose relations, female as well as male (*laics*), many monasteries had been handed over.

Lupus of Ferrières writes to Benedict for books.

However, it is a satisfaction to find that some monasteries in France, even in the midst of national disorders of every kind, were well governed, and were steadily labouring to preserve the monuments of antiquity, to be enjoyed in times of greater repose. Lupus, who, though born of noble parents (805), was, contrary to the rule at least of the ninth century, if not of the twentieth, an ornament to his rank, was in 842 appointed to the abbey of Ferrières by Charles the Bald. The pupil of Rhabanus Maurus, and hence through him of Alcuin, he loved learning for its own sake, and his letters, which represent "the scholarly spirit of the ninth century," are "not limited to the orthodox

[1] The *Capitulary* is dated August 856, at Bonœuil on the Marne. The Pope is said to speak 'cum magna auctoritate' in accordance with what he had been informed, but not with what was really the case. This document, Prichard (*Life of Hincmar*, p. 230), following Sismondi, sums up as a 'protest' by the bishops "against the interferenee of a foreign prelate in the national concerns of France!" The fact is they joined themselves to the *Pope's protest*: "Sed et nunc nostris monitis illius monita conjungentes et illius monitis nostra monita subjungentes," etc. There is no misconception of documents of which some men are not capable in their endeavours to foist a sentiment of nationalism upon an age when it had no existence in Church nor State.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

routine."[1] He reformed several monasteries, and kept his own up to a high standard of excellence. To simplify the work of reform by introducing unity, he sent some of his monks to Rome to learn the customs of the Church of Rome. By them he sent a letter[2] addressed as follows: "To the most excellent and by all Christians specially venerated universal Pope Benedict, Lupus, the last of abbots, from the monastery of Gaul, which is called Bethlehem, or Ferrières, wishes present prosperity and future blessedness." He ventures to address the Pope, because he knows that he has inherited the humility as well as the power of St. Peter, begs him to instruct those he has sent in the Roman customs so that one rule might prevail over the diversity of customs which reigned in different places. "For," he adds, with great fulness of truth, "in all that relates to religion and morality variety begets doubt." Hence he has recourse to the fountain-head of faith. In conclusion he begs the Pope to let him have the loan of the latter portion of the Commentaries of St. Jerome on the prophet Jeremiah, Cicero's *De Oratore*, the *Institutes* of Quintilian, and the commentary of Donatus on *Terence*, promising most faithfully to have them returned when copied.

Eastern affairs.

It was stated in the biography of Leo IV.[3] that Benedict refused to do more than to declare Gregory of Syracuse suspended till he had received further particulars regarding his case from St. Ignatius. But his violent expulsion from

[1] Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 151. "Amor litterarum ab ipso fere initio pueritiæ mihi est innatus," he wrote. Ep. 1.

[2] Ep. 103, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, p. 578. *Cf.* Epp. 101-2. He calls Benedict the 'universal Pope,' because it was to the Pope that "God gave the primacy over the whole world"—"cui (Leoni) dedit Deus primatum in omni orbe terrarum." Ep. 84. The letters of Lupus have recently appeared ap. *M. G. Epp.*, vi. Levillain has written an article upon them in the *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, lxiii.

[3] *Vid. supra*, p. 298.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

his see (November 23, 857) prevented him from holding further communication with the Pope. Whilst still on good terms with the holy patriarch, the emperor Michael III.,[1] the Drunkard, "on account of his love for the apostles,"[2] and also on account of his interest in the case of Gregory, and his wish by this action to secure the adhesion of the Pope to the sentence passed against him, had sent to *Blessed Peter*, whilst Leo was still Pope, a copy of the Gospels, with covers of pure gold adorned with precious stones, a chalice, a vestment of imperial purple, etc. These presents he had despatched by the envoy of St. Ignatius, the monk Lazarus, a Chazar by birth, an artist of no mean order, and one who had suffered grievous persecution, for the use to which he had put his skill, at the hands of Michael's father, the iconoclast, Theophilus. It would seem to follow from this notice that the representative whom Leo IV. had asked Ignatius to send to Rome did not arrive there, at least till after that Pope's death. But, as we have seen, Benedict would not give a final decision. He did not think he had received sufficient information either from Gregory's agent, Zachary,[3] or from Lazarus.

Ethelwulf. Benedict also received valuable presents from Ethelwulf, who this time came to Rome himself along with his son Alfred and a very numerous following. "In the same year (855)," says the contemporary historian Asser[4] in his *life* of Alfred, "he (Ethelwulf) went to Rome in great state, and taking with him the aforesaid King Alfred, for a second journey thither, because he loved him more than his other sons, he remained there a whole year." The *Book of the Popes* tells us of the gifts he offered to Blessed Peter—crowns,

[1] He had become emperor in fact as well as in name since he had attained his majority in 865.

[2] *In vit. Ben.*, n. xxxiii.

[3] Jaffé, 2813 (2124).

[4] *Cf. Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ad an. 855; Prudent., *Annal.*, ann. 855, 6.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

images, other ornaments all of gold, such as *baucæ* (goblets, small chalices or cruets), *gabathe saxisce* (dish-shaped lamps for floating wicks *of Saxon work*, saxisce?)—and such vestments as a *saraca de olovero cum chrisoclavo* (a dalmatic? with stripes of gold), a *camisa alba sigillata olosyrica cum chrisoclavo* (possibly a silken alb ornamented with the *apparel* in gold work), and *vela majora de fundato* (large hangings of cloth of gold). Being evidently in a generous mood, he gave, at the request of the Pope, public largess[1] in the Church of Blessed Peter, gold to all the clergy and nobles, and small silver to the people.

Not content with this, on his return to his kingdom of Wessex, he did not forget Rome when he made his will. Among other provisions "he commanded also a large sum of money, namely 300 mancuses, to be carried[2] to Rome for the good of his soul, to be distributed in the following manner, viz., 100 mancuses in honour of St. Peter, specially to buy oil for the lights of the church of that apostle on Easter eve, and also at cock-crow; 100 in honour of St. Paul for the same purpose, and 100 for the universal apostolic pontiff."[3] If *Rome* acquired a powerful hold on this country, incidents such as this show that it sprang from the free-will of its people. Rome's influence in England was the result of the nation's love for the successors of St. Peter, and not, in its origin at any rate, of any grasping for power on their part.

Romescot or Peter's pence.

These personal donations of Offa and Ethelwulf must not be confounded with the Rome-feoh, or Peter's Pence,

[1] "Universo clero et optimatibus Romanis tribuit aurum, populo vero minutum argentum." *L. P.*

[2] William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg.*, ii. § 113) and Florence of Worcester (*Chron.*, ad an. 855) say that this was to be an annual payment. "Præcepit omni anno 300 auri mancas Romam mitti." Malmes.

[3] Asser, *in vit. Alf.*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

which was a national tax, levied yearly for a long period at the rate of a silver penny from every family that had land or cattle to the annual value of thirty pence. The money thus raised was sent to Rome, and was for many ages divided between the Pope and the needs of the *Schola Anglorum*.[1] There can, however, be no doubt that the regular payment of Peter's Pence, which began at the close of this century, took its origin from these donations of our kings to Rome, which were given as well for the Pope himself as for the maintenance of the *Schola Anglorum*. This *schola*, seemingly the first of its kind, was certainly in existence at the close of the eighth century. It was the Anglo-Saxon quarter of Rome. In its church, now S. Spirito in Sassia, the English found priests of their nation, in its hospitals, food and lodging, and in its schools, instruction. It was enabled to do all this by the generosity towards it of our kings and people.[2] But "there is no reason to think that Peter-pence was in existence before the reign of Alfred. . . . . Under his son Edward, the Rome-feoh is mentioned for the first time by name; and then it appears, not as a new imposition, but as one of the accustomed dues of the Church."[3] In confirmation of

[1] See letter of Alexander II., ap. Jaffé, 4757 (3524).

[2] *Cf.* Mat. Paris, *in vit. Offæ*, ed. Wats, p. 29; *Gest. Abb. Monast. S. Albani*, i. 5, ed. Riley; and *Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard, p. 330 f. and 360 f.

[3] Lingard, *Anglo-Sax. Church*, i. p. 261. Among the so-called "Laws of William the Conqueror," really a compilation of the second half of the twelfth century, which show us the state of the law at the close of the Anglo-Saxon period, some of the provisions on Peter's Pence run thus: "Liber homo qui habet possessionem campestrem ad valenciam 30 denar: dabit denarium S. Petri . . . . Burgensis, si habet de proprio catallo ad valenciam dimidie marce, dabit denar. S. Petri." 17, § 2, runs: "Qui vero denarium S. Petri detinet, cogetur censura ecclesiastica illum solvere, et insuper 30 den. pro forisfacto (forfeit)." If ecclesiastical censure is not enough to make a man pay, then (§ 3), "Quod si ante justitias regis placitum venerit, habebit rex 40 solid. pro forisfactura, et episcopus 30 den." *Cf. Lois de*

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

this assertion of Lingard may be mentioned the discovery, in 1883, in the north angle of the house of the Vestal Virgins at the foot of the Palatine, and close to the palace built by Pope John VII., of an earthen vessel containing 830 Anglo-Saxon silver pennies ranging in date from 871–947 A.D. Of these, 3 were of Alfred the Great, 217 of Edward I., 393 of Athelstan, 195 of Edmund I., a few of Sitric and of Anlaf, kings of Northumbria, 4 of archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury, etc. A bronze fibula of Marinus II. (942–6), found buried with the treasure, would seem to fix the date of the burying of it to the time of that Pope.[1] The treasure, now in the Museo delle Terme, was probably concealed by a papal official living in the palace of John VII. during the time when Alberic, prince of the Romans, was at war with Hugo, king of Italy.

Forty years before the discovery just mentioned, another very large number of *Peter's Pence* had been found. This collection illustrates the subsequent history of the *Rome-penny*, as the former does that of its origin. When the old campanile of St. Paul's, *outside the walls*, was destroyed in 1843, there was discovered a hoard of over a thousand silver denarii belonging to a period from the close of the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh. In it were sixty different kinds of coins, coming from seventy-two mints in Italy, France, England, Germany, Burgundy, Holland,

Guillaume le Conquérant, Matzke, Paris, 1899. A scrap of Anglo-Saxon law, written about 1075, and quoted by Libermann in a note on "Peter's Pence about 1164" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xi. 745), ordains: "Let Rome-scot be given on St. Peter's festival after midsummer before noon. If anybody neglect it let him pay sixty shillings and give the Roman penny twelvefold." This law, though interesting, was seemingly only a "note of a local custom for practical use." Incidentally it may be observed that Libermann proves that "infinitely more money was collected under the name of Rome-scot than was sent out to Rome." *Ib.*, p. 747.

[1] Murray's *Hand-book for Rome*, pp. 65, 66.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Flanders, and Hungary. Some hundred of them were Anglo-Saxon thirty-three of which dated from the reign of St. Edward the Confessor, while the rest were of earlier kings.[1]

The first people, then, to pay the Rome-feoh were the English, and they were, moreover, the only people who paid it in the ninth century, and, possibly, even in the first part of the tenth century. Then it was gradually introduced into other countries, and the following century saw it paid by all the kingdoms of Western Christendom.

The earliest extant laws treating of the *Petrespenny* date, as has been said, from the time of Edward the Elder (921); but their preamble shows that earlier regulations on this subject had been issued. In process of time a fixed sum was sent, which from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, when its payment was stopped, amounted to about 48,000 denarii, or, as it is expressed in the *Liber Censuum*,[2] "three hundred marks[3] less one."

The affair of Ingeltrude, 858.

Not long before he died Benedict had to take action on a matter with which his successor had also to deal. We have spoken above[4] of a count Boso. Another Boso, (probably his son) a Lombard noble, had married a certain Ingeltrude. She proved to be a very dissolute woman, left

[1] *Cf.* C. di S. Quintino, *Monete del X. e dell' XI. sec. scorperte nel* 1843.

[2] Ed. Fabre, p. 226.

[3] The mark sterling was equivalent to 13 solidi, 4 denarii, and the solidus to 12 denarii, *i.e.* the mark corresponded to 160 denarii. On this whole subject see especially *D'un tesoro di monete Anglo-Sassoni, dissert.*, dal G. B. de Rossi, Roma, 1884, where a full catalogue of the coins is given; an article, *The Denarius S. Petri*, by O. Jensen, in the *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Society* for 1901; Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber Censuum*, p. 129 ff., Paris, 1892; *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, by Lanciani, p. 232 ff. The *Histoire du denier de S. Pierre*, by Dumax, Paris, 1867, is chiefly concerned with its recent history.

[4] Pg. 314.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

her husband, and led a scandalous life in various parts of France. After Boso had to no purpose endeavoured to induce her to return to him, he begged Pope Benedict to help him. As we learn from a letter[1] of Pope Nicholas to the bishops of the kingdom of Louis the German, Benedict made strenuous efforts, by writing to the emperor, to bishops and to princes, to induce them to cause the runaway to return to her lawful husband. Owing to the protection afforded the adulteress by Lothaire II., himself an adulterer, neither Benedict nor Nicholas effected anything. After the latter Pontiff had in vain directed various letters to the different parties concerned, he listened to the request of several bishops that sentence of excommunication should be pronounced against her. Accordingly, by his orders, a council was held at Milan (*c.* 860), and Ingeltrude was excommunicated. But despite many other[2] letters in Boso's behalf written by Nicholas, despite of his enlisting the support[3] of Charles the Bald, against her protector, Lothaire, despite the confirmation of the sentence of excommunication, pronounced against her, at the councils of Rome (863) and Attigny (865), Ingeltrude continued to do as she pleased with impunity. The last event that we know of in connection with this lady took place soon after the holding of the council of Attigny. At this council Arsenius, the legate of Pope Nicholas, besides dealing with the case of the divorce of Lothaire, had renewed, as we have just said, the excommunication against her. After the

[1] Ep. 155, ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, dated an. 867. *Cf.* Ep. 65 (an. 864).

[2] Epp. 6, 7, 65, 150.

[3] *Cf.* the *Capitula* of Charles the Bald, November 3, 862 (ap. Boretius, ii. 159), which show that Charles forwarded the Pope's letters to Lothaire and would not communicate with him lest he should have shared the excommunication of Ingeltrude by protecting her. "Et qui gravamur nostris, timemus alienis etiam communicare peccatis communicando excommunicatis."

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

council he was met by Ingeltrude at Worms. She swore before him to amend her life, and to go with him to Rome to get reconciled to the Church. But to give up her evil courses was too much for her. When near Augsburg she took to flight, and fades from our view covered with the legate's excommunication.[1]

This persistent effort of two popes, in the interests of Christian morality, to check a great cause of scandal in high places, though important it itself, was put into the shade by the far more serious struggle which had to be waged, in the same vital interest, in the case of King Lothaire in the days of Nicholas I., and with which this struggle was to a large extent contemporaneous. To the bold resistance, which with moral weapons alone the medieval popes made against the base passions of sovereigns, backed by all the material resources of their kingdoms, is due the position of woman in modern Europe. But for their unflinching firmness, monogamy, understood in its strictest sense, at once the glory and strength of Western civilisation, would have been destroyed; and woman would have been in the West, what she is to-day in the East, the slave or the plaything of man.

Church work.

What is recorded of Benedict's work in connection with

[1] *Cf.* Regino *in Chron.*, ad an. 866, where the oath that she took before Arsenius is given. An undated letter of Nicholas to Hincmar (ap. *P. L.*, t. 119, Ep. 145, p. 1135) says that he (the Pope) has been asked by Charles the Bald, what is to be done with those who hold intercourse with people who communicate with Ingeltrude, "a woman often excommunicated." Nicholas decides that he wishes those to be absolved who have so acted from necessity or ignorance; but not those who have acted with set purpose. The letter of Arsenius "to all the bishops of Gaul, Germany, and Neustria," ordering them to proclaim the excommunication of Ingeltrude in all their churches, may be read ap. Labbe, viii. 439.

In the last year of his life (March 7, 867), Nicholas writes to beg Louis the German, to compel Ingeltrude to return to her husband. Ep. 150, p. 1150.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

the various churches of Rome has reference, for the most part, to gifts to them of ecclesiastical vestments or furniture. Among these presents there is frequent mention of an *evangelium*[1] of pure silver or gold, as the case may be. It is by no means clear whether these *evangelia* are copies of the liturgical gospels bound with ornamental plates of precious metal, or whether they are those symbols of the four Evangelists which "used formerly to be kissed by the faithful, who declared by this act . . . . that they accepted all that was written by the four Evangelists."[2] He also becomingly replaced the precious binding of the volume, containing the epistles of St. Paul and of the other apostles and the lessons of the Prophets, which was used by the subdeacons at the *stations*, and, moreover, added to it the *Greek* and Latin lessons which were wont to be read on Holy Saturday and on the eve of Pentecost. He became acquainted with the needs of the different churches by his pious custom of visiting them in turn, "singing heavenly hymns," to pray for the flock entrusted to his care; for we are told[3] that he relied "on the divine intuition (*superno intuitu*) of the saints."

Following in the footsteps of his predecessor, his first care was to help to make good the damage done to the tombs and churches of the apostles by the Saracens. With plates of silver he redecorated the "sepulchre of St. Paul which had been destroyed by the Saracens,"[4] and gave a "cover of pure gold to the *bilicum*, or upper cataract of the confession (of St. Peter); that is, of course, the little orifice in the floor, the 'fenestrella' or little window of St. Gregory of Tours,"[5] through which a glimpse could at one

[1] *L. P.*, nn. xxv., xxix.
[2] Barnes, *l. c.*, p. 370.
[3] In a MS. of the *L. P.*, cited by Duchesne, ii. p. 147 n.
[4] *L. P.*, n. xxii.
[5] Barnes, *St. Peter in Rome*, p. 203, following the *L. P.*, n. xxvi.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

time be obtained of the actual sarcophagus of the Apostle. He presented to his basilica a large silver candelabrum (*farum cantarum argentum*), to replace the one "formerly carried off by the Saracens."[1] It was arranged to carry both lamps and candles, and was placed near the *lectorium*. He also re-roofed a large portion of the basilica, and especially that portion of it "which is over his body."[2]

Another interesting renovation effected by him was that of the seven stational crosses, viz., the silver crosses which were carried in front of the solemn processions to the different *stations*,[3] and were very likely the same as those carried before the exarchs or emperors when they visited Rome. In the very earliest of the *Ordines Romani*,[4] there is mention, in connection with the *stations*, of those "who carry the crosses," and in *ordines* of the ninth century it is expressly stated that the processions to the stations are to be headed by the seven crosses.[5] When in the twelfth century the number of the *regions* was increased to twelve, the number of the stational crosses was also brought up to the same figure. They appear to have been usually kept in the Church of S. Anastasia.

The Tiber in flood.

One of the one hundred and thirty-two great floods of the Tiber, which in historic times have spread their slime over the city of Rome, devastated it and the surrounding country at the beginning of Benedict's reign.[6] There is no need to describe this inundation, because its course was much the same as that of its predecessors, and its details

[1] *L. P.*, n. xxxv.

[2] Another indication that there was not at the time any idea in Rome that the body of St. Peter had been touched by the infidels.

[3] *L. P.*, n. xxviii.

[4] Grisar, *Analecta*, p. 219.

[5] "Primitus enim procedunt cruces VII. cum silentio et veniunt ad ecclesiam ubi statio denuntiata fuerit." *Ordo*, cited by Duchesne, *L. P.*, ii. 150.

[6] *L. P.*, n. xxiii., and p. 149.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

in the *Liber Pontificalis* are consequently much the same as those already given there in describing them.[1] But no doubt it added to the amount of restoration which the Pope was called upon to perform.

Decree of Benedict relative to the funerals of clerics.

We may fittingly close our account of Benedict by recording his decree regarding the burials of his clergy. He laid down that on the death of a bishop, priest, or deacon, the Pope, with all his clergy, was to assist at his burial and in commending his soul to God,—a decree which, his biographer says, Benedict was as ready to fulfil himself as to make, and a decree which his great successor, who imitated the good deeds of his predecessor in this as in other respects, was also himself careful to execute.

Death of Benedict, April 17, 858.

Benedict was buried in front of the principal gate[2] of the basilica of St. Peter, probably on April 18, the day after his death.

His epitaph, alluding to the place of his burial, while setting forth that outside the doors of the church, in a cold, quiet spot, fit for tears, is the tomb of Benedict, unworthy to be associated with the saints, ran thus:—

"Quisquis huc properas Christum pro crimine poscens,
Quam lacrimis dignus sit, rogo, disce locus.
Hac gelida præsul Benedictus membra quiete
Tertius en claudit quæ sibi reddat humus.
Quodque fores tectus servat sub tegmine saxi
Indignum sanxit se sociare piis."[3]

Coins.

Although Benedict reigned so short a time, a comparatively large number of his coins are extant; almost as large a number as of any Pope up to the days of John XXII. (1316–1334). At least five denarii of this Pope are known,

[1] *Cf.* vol. i., pt. ii., p. 146 of this work, and Lanciani, *The Destruc. of Rome*, 139, and his *Ruins and Excavs. of Rome*, p. 10 f.

[2] "Ante fores basilicæ." *L. P.* Jaffé gives April 7 as the date of his death.

[3] *L. P.*, ii. 150.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

All of them bear on the obverse the names of Benedict Papa and S. Peter. On the reverse, three of them bear the name of Louis, with the addition of Pius, or Imp. (*imperator*), or both. But two bear on the reverse the words[1] "Hlotharius Imp. Pius." These last-mentioned coins furnish one of the conclusive arguments against the pontificate of a Pope Joan. As Leo IV. died on July 17, 855, and the emperor Lothaire on September 28, 855, and as the coin shows Benedict and Lothaire, Pope and emperor, alive together, it cannot be that a Pope Joan, or any other Pope, had, as pretended, a reign of over two years between Leo IV. and Benedict III.[2]

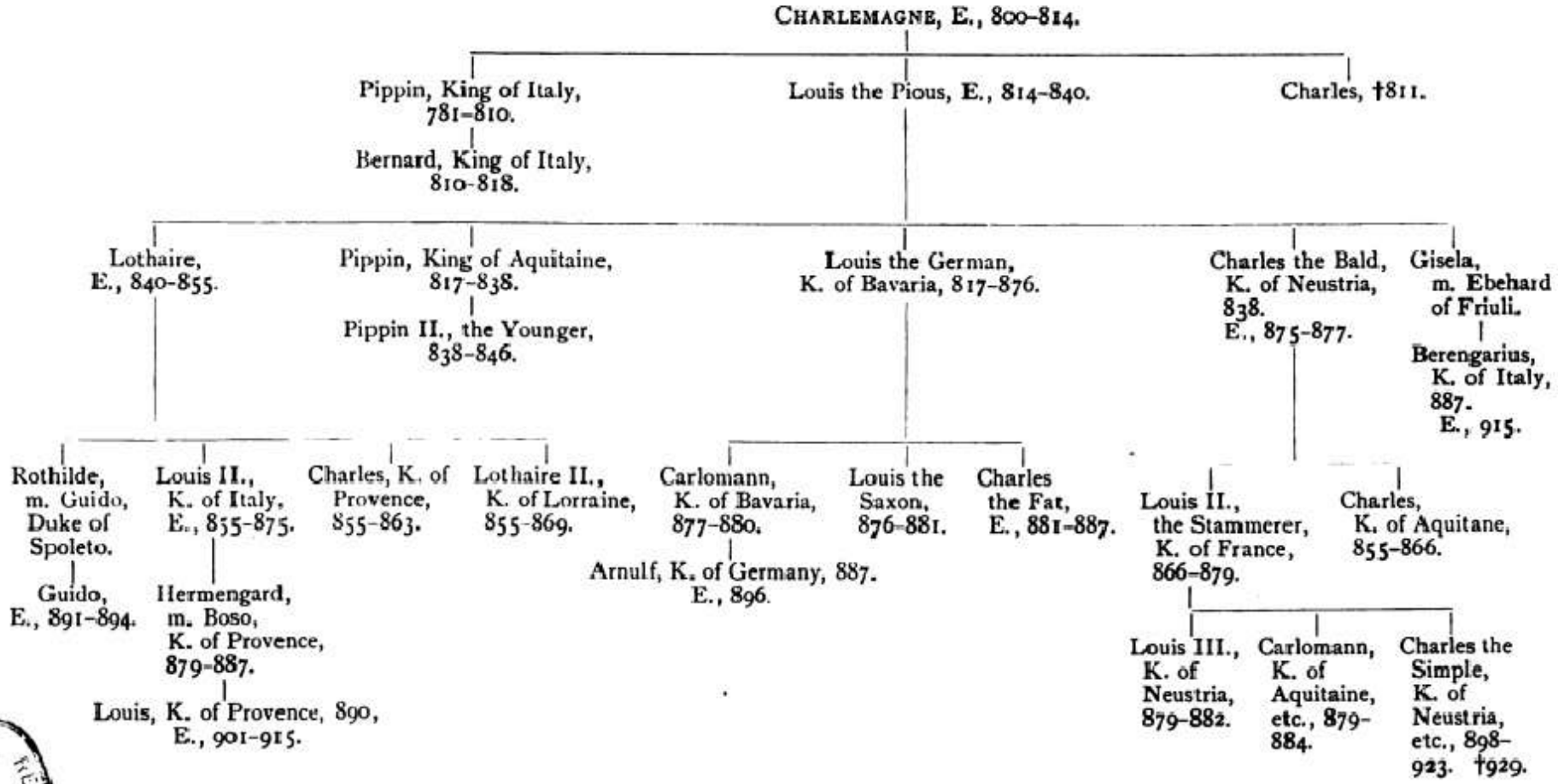
[1] Cinagli, p. 4; Promis, p. 62 f.

[2] We would refer those who may be curious in the matter of the 'female Pope' to Doellinger's *Papst-Fabeln*, of which both an English and a French translation exist. As to the origin of the fable, there are as as many theories as writers on the subject. According to Hergenroether (*Hist. de l'Église*, iii. 196) the most probable origin of the fable is to be traced to the action of John VIII. towards Photius and the Greeks. His policy of conciliation was blamed by some, and regarded as the 'weakness of a woman.' Whereas Photius, who profited by John's mildness, takes care frequently (*De Spir. Sanct.*, c. 89) to describe him as 'manly.' But Lapôtre (*Le Pape Jean VIII.*, append.) will not allow that John VIII. has even so remote a connection with the story of Pope Joan. We have no hesitation in saying that he makes his contention good. The reader may also consult on this subject Miley's *Hist. of the Papal States*, i. 475 f.; Gregorovius, *Rome*, iii. 111 f.

Digitized by Google Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

THE CAROLINGIANS


CHARLEMAGNE, E., 800–814.
Pippin, King of Italy, 781–810.
Bernard, King of Italy, 810–818.
Louis the Pious, E., 814–840.
Charles, †811.
Lothaire, E., 840–855.
Pippin, King of Aquitaine, 817–838.
Pippin II., the Younger, 838–846.
Louis the German, K. of Bavaria, 817–876.
Charles the Bald, K. of Neustria, 838. E., 875–877.
Gisela, m. Ebehard of Friuli.
Berengarius, K. of Italy, 887. E., 915.
Rothilde, m. Guido, Duke of Spoleto.
Guido, E., 891–894.
Louis II., K. of Italy, E., 855–875.
Hermengard, m. Boso, K. of Provence, 879–887.
Louis, K. of Provence, 890, E., 901–915.
Charles, K. of Provence, 855–863.
Lothaire II., K. of Lorraine, 855–869.
Carlomann, K. of Bavaria, 877–880.
Arnulf, K. of Germany, 887. E., 896.
Louis the Saxon, 876–881.
Charles the Fat, E., 881–887.
Louis II., the Stammerer, K. of France, 866–879.
Louis III., K. of Neustria, 879–882.
Carlomann, K. of Aquitaine, etc., 879–884.
Charles the Simple, K. of Neustria, etc., 898–923. †929.
Charles, K. of Aquitane, 855–866.

Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

INDEX.

AACHEN (Aix-la-Chapelle), 59, 133.
Abingdon, Monastery of, 82 f.
Achmim, 40 n.
Actard, 292, 297.
Adalhard, 47.
Adalramm, 165.
Adelbert, 248.
Ado, 230.
Adoptionism, 69.
Adrebald, 206.
Agnellus, 98, 208.
Agobard, 187, 196 ff.
Alcuin, 2, 9, 14, 18, 24, 32, 316.
Aldric, S., 225.
Alfred, King, 278, 318.
All Saints, Feast of, 230 f.
Amalarius, 229.
Amalfi, 267.
Ameria, 270.
Anastasius, Cardinal of S. Marcellus, 280, 310.
Anastasius, the Librarian, 282.
Angilbert, 1, 11 f.
Annales Vet. Franc., 7 n.
Anointing of Sovereigns, 37 n.
Ansgar, S., 145, 177, 219.
Apostolicus, 278.
Aqua Trajana, 217; Marcia, 255; Jobia, 255.
Aqueducts, 255.
Aquileia, 221, 254.
Arcus Latronis, 302.
Arezzo, 275.
Arno, 16–18, 25.
Arsenius of Horta, 281, 309, 323 f.
Asser, 278.
Assumption of the B. V. M., 301, 303.
Astronomer, The, 111.
Avars, 14, 17 f.

BARI, 215.
Basil I., 52.
Basilisk, 303.
Bavaria, 16.
Benedict III., 286, 298, 300, 308–329.
Benedict, Canon, 302.
Benedict, brother of Sergius II., 238.
Beneventum, 243.
Bernard, son of Pippin, 91, 93, 97, 114, 134.
Bernard, Duke, 194.
Biorn, King, 219.
Bishops, Election of, 295.
Bonus, Duke, 223.
Books sought in Rome, 317.
Boso, a Lombard noble, 322.
Boso, Count, 314.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Borgo, 275.
Bremen, 220.
Bulls, Papal, 231.
Burgh, the Saxon, 147.

Cæsarius, 267.
Campulus, 19.
Catacombs, 149.
Cavallini, Pietro, 275.
Cecily, St., Relics of, 150 ff.
Cenomanensium, Actus Epp., 226.
Centula, 1, 51 n.
Centumcellæ, 95, 215, 271.
Cenulf, 75, 82.
Ceolnoth, 278.
Chair, S. Peter's, 105.
Chant, Roman, 229, 305.
Chanson de geste, A, 251.
Charlemagne, 1, 11 f., 17, 24 f., 32, 33 f., 58 f., 71 f., 93.
Charles the Bald, 193 ff., 207, 247, 292 and *passim*.
Charles, King, 37, 59, 61.
Charles, King of Provence, 313 f.
Christophorus, 69.
Churches:
S. Apollinaris in Classe, 98.
S. Cæsario in Palatio, 3.
S. Cecily in Trastevere, 125, 151.
S. George in Velabro, 20.
S. Lorenzo in Lucina, 21.
S. Lucia in Orfea (Selci), 301.
S. Maria-in-Domnica, 123.
S. Mark, 189.
SS. Martin and Sylvester, 236, 238.
S. Peter, 23, 29, 34, 104 ff., 218.
S. Prassede, 124, 143, 150.
SS. Quatuor Coronati, 260, 304, 311.
S. Sabina, 161.
S. Spirito in Sassia, 27.
S. Stefano Rotondo, 22.
Churches—*continued*:
S. Susanna, 7, 107.
S. Valentine, 21.
Church and State, Union of, 40 n.
Civita Vecchia, 215, 271.
Clement VIII., 272.
Coins, English, Discovery of, at Rome, 321 ff.
Colmar, 197, 226.
Compiègne, Diets of, 195, 204.
Concordat of 824, 57, 163 f.
Confession of S. Peter, 273, 325.
Consecration, Papal, 120.
Consiliarius, papal official, 19 n.
Constantine, 15.
Constantine VI., 86.
Convoyon, (St.), 296.
Corbey, 135.
Coronation of Rulers, 37 n., 275.
Corsica, 269.
Councils:
Aix-la-Chapelle (809), 62, 65.
Attigny (865), 323.
Beccanceld, 74.
Clovesho, 74, 78.
Constantinople, (854), 298, (869), 298.
Mayence, 50.
Milan (*c.* 860), 323.
Paris (849), 297.
Rome (826), 174; (844), 241; (853), 280; (863), 323.
Soissons (866), 289.
Troyes (867), 291.
Crete, 5 n.
Crosses, Stationary, 22.

Danes, Conversion of, 144 ff.
Daniel, 300.
David Nicetas, 297.
Deaconesses, 27.
Decretals, False, 228.
Defender of the Church, 11.
Dionysius of Agrapha, 214.
Diploma, 'Ego Ludovicus,' 127.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Dol, 297.
Domusculta of Galeria, 217.
Drogo of Metz, 239 ff.

EADBERT, 75.
Eanbald, 73.
Eardulf, 70.
East and Rome, 84 ff., 139 ff., 317 f.
Eastern Empire, 5, 84.
Ebbo, 144, 204, 243, 246 ff., 285.
Egilo of Sens, 289.
Ego Ludovicus, diploma, 127 ff.
Eider, The, 145.
Election of Bishops, 295.
Election Decrees, Papal, 11.
Eleutherius, 281.
Emperors, Coronation of, 37 n., 275.
Empire, Christian, 39 ff.
Empire, Partition of, 123.
Empire, Western, causes of its revival, 38 ff.
England and Rome, 70 ff., 278, 319.
Erasmus, S., 22.
Eric, duke of Friuli, 14.
Ermengard, 135.
Ermoldus, 111.
Ethelheard, 74 ff.
Ethelwulf, 318.
Eugenius II., 156–183.
Eusebius, quoted, 39.
Evangelia, 325.

FARFA, 120, 136, 192.
Ferrières, 316.
Filioque Controversy, 62 ff.
Florus, 211.
Folcaricus, 293.
Fontenay, 209.
Fortona, 203.
Fortunatus of Grado, 69, 172.
Franks, Decay of, 188, 313.
Friuli, 14.
Fulda, 146.
Fulda, Annals of, 234.

GAETA, 267.
Gall (St.), Monk of, 20, 32 n.
George, archbishop of Ravenna, 207 ff.
George, duke of Emilia, 283.
Ghost, Holy, Procession of, 62 ff.
Giotto, 275.
Gozbald, Abbot, 224.
Grado, 69, 221, 254.
Gratian, 283, 300, 310.
Gratiosus, 210.
Greek in Latin services, 325.
Greek rite in Rome, 143.
Gregoriopolis, 215.
Gregorovius, quoted, 72.
Gregory I. (St.), 218.
Gregory IV., 187–231, 278.
Gregory Asbestas, 298, 317.
Guelf, 193.

HADRIAN I., 13, 19, 170.
Hadrian II., 292.
Hamburg, 219.
Harald, 177.
Haroun-al-Raschid, 40, 62.
Herard, 287.
Hilduin, 181.
Hincmar of Rheims, 234, 247, 285.
Holy Ghost, Procession of the, 62 ff.
Homily of Leo IV. (?), 304.
Honoratus, 305.
Horta, 270.
Hubert, 314.

ICONOCLASM, 139, 166 ff., 212 ff.
Ignatius, St., 297, 317.
Ingeltrude, 322.
Ingoald, 192.
Irene, 45, 58.
Istria, Diocese of, 222.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Italy, Hellenic influence in, 143.
Ivo of Chartres, 258.

Jerusalem and Charlemagne, 62.
Joan, 307, 328.
John IX., 121.
John XXII., 327.
John, Archbishop of Ravenna, 283.
John, archcantor, 305.
John, doge of Venice, 69.
John, Neapolitan deacon, 223.
John of Grado, 69.
John, rival of Sergius II., 236.
Judith, 193 ff.

Keys of St. Peter, 142.
Kings, Anointing of, 37 n.

Lateran, basilica, 256 ; palace, 15, 273.
Laudes, The, 36 n.
Lazarus, 298, 318.
Learning in Italy, 175.
Leo III., 1–110.
Leo IV., 258–308.
Leo V., emperor, 139, 142.
Leo X., 269.
Leonine City, 263 ff.
Leopolis, 271.
Liber Pontificalis, 242, 307.
Liber Synodicus, 139 n.
Lichfield, 75 ff.
Litany, the Carolingian, 36 n.
Litany, the greater, 20, 38.
Litany, the lesser, 100.
Longinus, 59.
Lorch, See of, 176.
Lorraine, 313.
Lorsch, Annals of, 30.
Lothaire II., 313, 314, 323.
Lothaire, emperor, 133 ff., 162, 193, 205, 239, 313.
Louis I., emperor, 93, 112 f., 168 f., 193, 202 ff., 207.
Louis II., 52, 239 ff., 275.
Louis III., the Blind, 257.
Louis the German, 195.
Lupus of Ferrières, 316 f.

Mancus, A, 77 n.
Marinus II., 321.
Martin, S., 259, 305.
Martin, archbishop of Ravenna, 98.
Mass, 100.
Matroneum, 153.
Matrimony, Christian, defended by popes, 324.
Maxentius, 221.
Mayence, 28.
Methodius, patriarch, 212.
Metz, school of chant, 229.
Michael I., 88.
Michael II., 143, 166, 212.
Michael III., 212.
Moissac, Chronicle of, 7 n.
Moravia, Christianity in, 175 f.
Mosaics of Leo III., 14 f.
Music, 229, 305.

Naples, 267.
Nicephorus, 45, 58, 69, 87.
Nicephorus, patriarch, 87, 90, 139, 167.
Nicholas I., 286 ff., 299, 323.
Nimeguen, 71 ; diet of, 195.
Nithard, 94, 187.
Nobles, Power of, in Rome, 19, 157 ff., 185, 237.
Nomentum, 28
Nomenoius, 295 ff.
Northmen, The, 40, 95.
Northumbria, 71.

Oath taken by the Pope, 164.
Olivola Castello, 69.
Ordeals, 179.
Ordo Palatinus, 285.
Ordo Romanus XI., 302, 326.
Orthodoxy, Feast of, 212.
Ostia, 216, 268.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PALLIUM, 80, 118, 166, 298.
Pannonia, 14.
Paris, Assembly of (825), 169.
Paschal I., 122–155, 273.
Paschal, 19 f., 31.
Patricius, 34.
Patrimonies of the Roman Church, 93.
Paul the deacon, Continuation of history of, 136, 164.
Peter (St.), 14, 23, 251, 272.
Peter, bishop of Spoleto, 286.
Peter's Pence, 319 f.
Photius, 298.
Pippin, King, 25, 58, 61, 92 f.
Pippin, king of Aquitaine, 194 f., 206.
Pola, See of, 70.
Popes, changing of their names, 234.
Popes, to be present at clerical funerals, 327.
Pope, his territory, 4; position in feudal Europe, 72; enthronisation of, 184; election of, 185, 191.
Portus, 269.
Presbiteria, 8.
Primicerius, papal official, 19.
Procession of the Holy Ghost, 62 ff.
Pseudo-Liutprand, 233.

QUIERCY, 59.

RADELCHIS, 215, 243.
Raphael, 269.
Ratram, 68.
Ravenna, 98, 283.
Reate, 295.
Regino, 295.
Remigius, 287.
Rhabanus Maurus, 146, 256, 316.
Rheims, 59, 144.
Riquier, St., 1.
Robigalia, 20.
Rome, 4, 101 ff.
Romescot, 319.
Rothfield, 202.
Rudolf, 234.

SABBATINE Aqueduct, 217.
Saccellarius, papal official, 19.
Salzburg, 16, 165.
Sancta Sanctorum, 15.
Sandals of our Lord, 119.
Saracens, 92, 96, 206, 214, 248 ff., 267.
Saracinesco, 254.
Scandinavia, Christianity in, 177.
Schola Anglorum, 320.
Schola Cantorum, 235, 256.
Scholæ, 27, 147, 240, 250, 266, 320.
Senior, papal official, 19.
Sergius II., 232–258.
Sergius III., 257.
Sicilies, The two, 214.
Sicily, 5 n., 214.
Siconulf, 215, 243.
Sienna, 275.
Silvester, 302.
Simeon of Durham, 71 n.
Smaragdus, 66.
Soissons, 287.
St. Maurice, 59.
Stephen and Silvester, SS., 22.
Stephen (IV.) V., 111–121.
Strabo, Walafrid, 100.
Stylian, 298.
Subiaco, 274.
Superista, The, 300.
Sweden, 219.

TARASIUS, patriarch, 84.
Theganus, 111.
Theodora, 212.
Theodore, nomenclator, 134, 137, 162.
Theodore, the Studite, 85 ff., 140 ff., 166.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Theodotus, 139.
Theodulfus, 33, 66, 114, 118.
Theophilus, 212.
Theutberga, 314.
Thionville, 60.
Tiber, Flood of, 326.
Tours, 295.

VALENTINE, 183–187.
Vendopera (Villa), 117.
Verdun, Treaty of, 210 f.
Venerius, 221, 254.
Venice, 4.
Vestiarium, Papal, 7.
Vestiarius, papal official, 6.

WAKES, 304.
Wala, 134, 156, 160 f., 197.
Welf, 193.
William of Malmesbury, 76 n.
Winichis, 23.
Worms, 197.
Wulfad, 285.
Wulfred, 73 n., 74, 79 ff.

ZENO, 38.

PRINTED BY NEILL AND CO., LTD., EDINBURGH.

Digitized by Google
Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

SEP 14 1936

APR 20 1939

MAR 19 1942

JAN 4 1954 LU

DEC 18 1966 15

RECEIVED

DEC 16 '66 -11 AM

LOAN DEPT.

APR 24 1967 8 8

RECEIVED

APR 27 '87 -12 AM

LOAN DEPT.

APR 24 1984

REC. CIR. MAR 25 '84

MAY 19 2008

LD 21-100m-8,'?

Digitized by Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

BX1070
M3
150684
V. 2

Digitized by Google
...l from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Digitized by Google
Original from
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA